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## THE GOTHIC REVIVAL AND THE GERMAN *TRANSLATIO*<sup>1</sup>

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THE arguments spread in abundance by the English writers, based on implications drawn from traditional political inheritances, were not the only factor aiding in the creation of the Gothic vogue in England. A powerful thought-current set in motion by the Reformation, known as the *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*, was a second factor, emphasizing traditional racial characteristics and shaping the modern understanding of the role of the Goths in history.

The *translatio* suggested forcefully an analogy between the breakup of the Roman Empire by the Goths and the demands of the humanist reformers of northern Europe for religious freedom, interpreted as liberation from Roman priestcraft. In other words, the *translatio* crystallized the idea that humanity was twice ransomed from Roman tyranny and depravity—in antiquity by the Goths, in modern times by their descendants, the German reformers. In their youth, vigor, and moral purity the Goths destroyed the

decadent Roman civilization and brought about a rejuvenation or rebirth of the world. In the same way the Reformation was interpreted as a second world rejuvenation. The result was that the epithet "Gothic" became not only a polar term in political discussion, a trope for the "free," but also in religious discussion a trope for all those spiritual, moral, and cultural values contained for the eighteenth century in the single word "enlightenment."

The *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos* invoked for the Renaissance reader a complex of traditional ideas associated with the pre-eminence of Rome as the cultural center of the world, composed of the following strands:

1. The classical (pagan) conception of the *urbs aeterna*, proclaiming the pre-eminence of Rome
2. The patristic (Christian) acceptance of the classical *urbs aeterna*, abetted by the irresistible authority of Scripture, especially the prophetic book of Daniel
3. The significance attached to the accession of Charlemagne to the imperial title of the Holy Roman Empire, a literal *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*, that is, a world empire given over to the Germanic peoples

### I. THE "URBS AETERNA"

The classical conception of the *urbs aeterna*, voiced by a long line of Rome's poets and orators, proclaimed the august, enduring, and universal grandeur of

<sup>1</sup> In a previous paper ("The Goths in England: an introduction to the Gothic vogue in eighteenth-century aesthetic discussion," *MP*, XLIII [1945], 107-17) I sought to establish a movement of ideas which associated the Goths with a democratic tradition. In this essay I wish to show the association of the Goths with a tradition of moral and intellectual enlightenment. The first essay is of some importance here because I do not concern myself, to any appreciable extent, to show once again that by the Goths the English meant themselves; by a more or less fanciful etymologizing the English specifically identified themselves as Goths.

Rome. Two forces, political and religious, shaped the literary tradition. The bonds of Rome's empire were weakening, and, as a consequence, the poetic celebrations of Rome's imperial grandeur were, in reality, elegies for a departed past. The Goths had appeared within the borders. A new religion had appeared to supplant the old gods. On the other hand, however, the popular belief in the assurance stated in three different passages of the Sibylline Oracles that Augustus would succeed in establishing in his dynasty the perpetuity of the empire was a second source of inspiration, rather more forward-looking than retrospective, less elegiac and more hopeful; certainly, Virgil's great claim of Rome's eternity enlarges on the latter inspiration.

It was primarily due to Virgil as the literary interpreter of the Roman sentiment of the *urbs aeterna* that the conception survived the downfall of the material empire. To Virgil, Rome was the steward of civilization, the giver of world order, and it was destined, therefore, to be the universal city of peace and justice:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;  
hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,  
parcere suietis, et debellare superbos.<sup>2</sup>

The underlying conception, indeed, of the entire sixth book of the *Aeneid* is of Rome's world dominion. As Anchises tells the story of Rome's founding and bares the prophecy of its glorious future, he stresses that he is not simply telling the story of a few stragglers from Troy but that he is revealing the purpose of divine creation itself in the founding of Rome. The Eternal City was to have universal and eternal world dominion because it

<sup>2</sup> Virgil *Aeneid* vi. 851-53, ed. Greenough and Kittredge (Boston, 1895), p. 184: "Roman, be this thy care—these thine arts—to bear dominion over the nations and to impose the law of peace, to spare the humbled and to war down the proud" (trans. J. Jackson [Oxford, 1921], p. 258).

represented the consummation of the divine ordering of the world and the long process of civilizing barbarous humanity:

En, huius, nate auspicis illa incluta Roma  
imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,  
Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,  
felix prole virum.<sup>3</sup>

As Anchises speaks, Rome's empire, *imperium sine fine dedi*, from its western to its eastern limits, comes under his view.

The powerful attraction exerted by the city of Rome is thus seen to be closely related to the imperial idea. It was even the conviction of Rome's panegyrists that if Rome fell so did the entire world: "quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus."<sup>4</sup>

## II. THE "URBS SACRA"

Rome's superiority, as an ideal, was never canceled. Like Rome's pagan poets, the early Christian thinkers—Augustine, Lactantius, Tertullian, and Prudentius—were interested intentionally in obscuring the fact that Rome's power was declining. Consequently, the Christians also sponsored the idea of the *urbs aeterna*, blending scriptural notions from the Book of Daniel with the Roman notions. The early Christian thinkers were conciliatory. Christianity took up the Roman strand and wove into it a new thread, spiritualizing it beyond even Virgil's noble vision: the Christians were the noblest Romans of all. Thus the continuity of the idea of the *urbs aeterna* was assured. It survived to enter into the thought-complex centering on the *translatio*.

The effort at Christian reconciliation

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* vi. 781-84 (Greenough and Kittredge, p. 181): "Look, my son, and know that under his [Romulus'] auspices shall glorious Rome bound her empire by earth, her pride by Olympus, and one in self, circle with her battlements the seven hills, blest in a warrior race" (Jackson, p. 256).

<sup>4</sup> [Pseudo-]Bode, "Exceptiones patrum," in *Opera paraenetica* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XCVI, col. 453); cf. Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo* (2 vols.; Torino, 1882), Vol. I, chap. i.

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<sup>2</sup> Prude  
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<sup>3</sup> F. J.  
ford, 1934)

may be described simply as an attempt to convert the *urbs aeterna* into an *urbs sacra*. The pagan belief in the city's providential creation by the gods aided in the process; it is, in fact, another manifestation of that ever attractive theme, the classical legacy to the modern, Christian world. For example, one of the more famous "stations-of-Rome" or pilgrim poems, "O Roma nobilis," expresses a veneration of Rome. But its mood of piety is different. The poem venerates Rome because it was the stage which witnessed the spectacle of the martyrs:

O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina,  
cunctarum urbium excellentissima,  
roseo martyrum sanguine rubea,  
albis et virginum liliis candida  
salutem dicimus tibi per omnia,  
te benedicimus; salve per secula.<sup>5</sup>

The *Peristephanon* of Prudentius hails Rome as "parent of men," "ruler of the world,"

Antiqua fanorum parens  
Jam Roma Christo dedita. . . .

Like "O Roma nobilis," it connects the city with a martyr cult: once great as ruler of the world, Rome is now greater in the reflected glory of the martyrs.<sup>6</sup> Another panegyric of Rome commences in the manner of the pagan encomia, stressing Rome's glory; but the city replies to Hildebert (the author of the poem) that, under Peter, Rome will be more glorious than under Caesar:

quis gladio Caesar, quis sollicitudine consul,  
quis rhetor lingua, quae mea castra manu  
tanta dedere mihi? Studiis et legibus horum  
obtinui terras; crux dedit una polum.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in F. J. E. Raby, *History of Christian-Latin poetry* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 233-34.

<sup>6</sup> Prudentius, "Hymnus II," *Peristephanon* (Amstelodami. 1657), p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> F. J. E. Raby, *Secular Latin poetry* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1934), I, 324.

These poems were patently written under the influence of the pagan-city encomia, but, in so far as their authors seek to reconcile their Christianity with the pagan belief in Rome's destiny, they solve their problem very superficially. We must turn to other Christian panegyrists to see the complexity of the problem faced by Christian thinkers in reconciling the ecumenical character of Rome with its imperial character, which they were far from denying.

The specific statement, "quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus," is, as a matter of fact, of Christian composition.<sup>8</sup> The reasons why the church arose to propagate anew the faith in the universal empire and intentionally to obscure the facts of the imperial dissolution are not difficult to trace. The Fathers recognized the positive services which Rome had rendered to the cause of humanity by providing the earthly order on the basis of which it was the church's mission to create a spiritual order. The church accepted Rome's earth-encircling claim, denouncing, to be sure, its moral decay and oppression; but it accepted, nevertheless, the principle of authority on which the imperial order rested. The Christians had no national traditions and had never known a national existence, and for this reason they were as much, or perhaps first, citizens of Rome before they were members of the church. The following passage, of anonymous authorship, reveals how Christianity came into existence within the Roman Empire and formed a constituent element in a civilization which it gradually permeated:

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Vita S. Adelberti 21, quoted in A. J. Carlyle, *Medieval political theory in the West* (5 vols.; Edinburgh, 1927-28), III, 171: "Roma autem cum caput mundi et urbium domina sit et vocetur, sola reges imperare facit, etc." For additional passages see Lactantius *Div. inst.* 7. 14 and 25; Ambrosius *Expos. in Lucam* iv. 4; and discussion by H. Fischer, "Belief in the continuity of the Roman Empire among the Franks of the 5th and 6th centuries," *Catholic historical review*, IV (new ser.; 1925), 536-53. Also useful is the synopsis of a dissertation by William Haller, *Latin and German encomia of cities* (Chicago, 1937).

Christians are not distinct from the rest of mankind in land or language or customs. For they nowhere inhabit cities of their own, nor do they use any different form of speech, nor do they practise any peculiar mode of living. . . . They inhabit cities, Greek or Barbarian, wherever the lot of each has cast him, and they follow local custom in their clothes, food, and general way of living.<sup>9</sup>

As Domenico Comparetti has said:

The ideals of Christianity would have remained mere Utopian visions had they not found so many diverse peoples made homogeneous by the legions of Rome. . . . As Christ stood at the fountain-head of the religious records of Christian history, so its political records began with the first emperor, Augustus, in whose reign Christ was born. By a coincidence, on the miraculous nature of which the Christians were never tired of dilating, the beginning of Christianity had been contemporaneous with the beginning of the Empire, and Christ had been born at the moment when Rome was at the zenith of her power, when peace reigned throughout her vast dominions.<sup>10</sup>

In Augustine's view, the empire was even due to the will of God. Attacking the pagan belief that their empire was divinely instituted, Augustine points out that, even if true, the pagan gods were powerless; since, obviously, they had left the Romans to their fate at the hands of the Gothic invaders. But, he continues, deliberately obscuring the fact that, because of the barbarian eruption, the empire was dissolving, the end is not fatal, since the true God had providentially created the empire in preparation for the spiritual kingdom to follow: "Causa ergo magnitudinis imperii Roma nec fortuita est nec

fatalis. . . . Prorsus divina providentia regna constituuntur humana."<sup>11</sup> Rome's greatness, according to Augustine, was the reward of the pagan intellectual effort: "honorati sunt in omnibus fere gentibus, imperii sui leges imposuerunt multis gentibus, hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt paene in omnibus gentibus."<sup>12</sup> The implication of the metaphor which forms the very substance of Augustine's book becomes comprehensible in terms of his belief that Rome's imperial greatness, her universal and eternal empire, was the earthly order necessary to the creation of the heavenly order, although, ordinarily, most commentaries stress Augustine's rejection of the "earthly city":

Proinde per illud imperium tam latum tamque diuturnum virorumque tantorum virtutibus praeclarum atque gloriosum et illorum intentioni merces quam quarebant est reddita, et nobis proposita necessariae commonitionis exempla, ut, si virtutes, quarum ista utcumque sunt similes, quas isti pro civitatis terranae gloria tenerunt, pro Dei gloriosissima civitate non tenerimus, pudore pungamur.<sup>13</sup>

In the view of Lactantius the earthly order provided by Rome's universal empire is necessary, since it preserves the world, otherwise on the brink of destruction:

<sup>9</sup> Anon. *Ad Diognetum* 5, cited by W. R. Halliday, *The pagan background of early Christianity* (London, 1925), p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Vergil in the Middle Ages, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (London, 1895), p. 175.

<sup>11</sup> Augustine *Civitas Dei* v. 1: "The cause, then, of the greatness of the Roman Empire is neither fortuitous nor fatal. . . . In a word, human kingdoms are established by divine providence."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* v. 15: "They were honored among almost all nations; they imposed the laws of their empire upon many nations, and at this day, both in literature and history, they are glorious among almost all nations."

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* v. 18: "Wherefore, through that empire so extensive and of so long a continuance, so illustrious and glorious also through the virtues of such great men, the reward which they sought was rendered to their earnest aspirations, and also examples are set before us, containing necessary admonition, in order that we may be stung with shame if we shall see that we have not held fast those virtues for the sake of the most glorious city of God, which are, in whatever way, resembled by those virtues which they held fast for the sake of the terrestrial city."

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<sup>15</sup> *Apol*  
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Cuius vastitatis et confusionis haec erit causa, quod Romanum nomen, quo nunc regitur orbis (horret animus dicere: sed dicam, quia futurum est) tolletur de terra et imperium in Asiam revertetur, ac rursus Oriens dominabitur, atque Occidens serviet.<sup>14</sup>

According to Tertullian, it was necessary for the Christians to pray for the emperor's life, since a lease of life was given to the world by the duration of the empire.<sup>15</sup> Thus it is clear that the church accepted—in its own way—the claim of Rome's universal and eternal empire. The Christian thinkers affirmed (in the words of Leo the Great, A.D. 440-61): "Ut enarrabilis gratiae per totum mundum diffunderetur effectus, Romanum regnum divina praeeparavit."<sup>16</sup>

### III. THE DANIELIC "TRANSLATIO"

On the other hand, whether the Christian panegyrists were able without reservation to accept the Roman claim is exceedingly dubious. There were, as a mat-

although they must, like Augustine, ultimately reject the pagan *civitas Roma* in favor of the *civitas Dei*.

The *translatio* represents a re-working of the prophecies contained in chapters 2 and 7 of the Book of Daniel. To the Jews, Daniel was a prophecy of Jewish national resurgence, but to the Christians (primarily because of Jerome's commentary on Daniel) it meant a consummation of the divine purpose in allowing Rome to prosper simultaneously, paradoxically, with release from the Roman Empire. Later, however, to the medieval German historians and to the German humanist reformers, Daniel again meant a resurgent national ideal, but specifically a German national resurgence.

The beasts and the statue, allegorized in Daniel, chapters 2 and 7, represent the four empires of antiquity and the transference (*translatio*) of power from each decaying empire to its successor, the process culminating in the rise of Rome:

Chapter 2  
golden head  
silver breast  
brazen belly and thighs  
iron legs, iron and clay feet

lion  
bear  
leopard  
the fourth beast

Chapter 7  
Babylonian  
Medo-Persian  
Grecian  
Roman<sup>17</sup>

ter of fact, two ideas, not merely the one of the *urbs aeterna*, fertilizing the Christian thinking. Account must be taken of the second idea, the famed *translatio*, in order better to understand why they appear to have accepted the Roman claim

<sup>14</sup> Lactantius *Div. inst.* vii. 15, in *Opere* (Leipzig, 1739), p. 940.

<sup>15</sup> *Apologia* cap. 32, ed. William Reeves (London, n.d.), pp. 95-96.

<sup>16</sup> "That the working of unspeakable grace might be spread abroad throughout the whole world, Divine Providence prepared the Roman Empire," quoted by Grant Showerman, *Eternal Rome* (2 vols.; New Haven, 1924), I, 185.

<sup>17</sup> Hastings-Selbie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Daniel." For Jerome's commentary on Daniel, see Migne, Vol. XXV, col. 504; and discussion by E. M. Sanford, *The Mediterranean world in ancient times* (New York, 1938), p. 557.

The point that we shall have occasion to observe is that Bishop Otto of Freising (a German historian), for example, regards the imperial idea from a double viewpoint, prefiguring the shift which was to become more and more predominant in Germany as the Reformation approached. Bishop Otto, like Virgil, is deeply imbued with the pacific dream of the empire. On the other hand, however, by directly linking Daniel (cf. below) with the imperial concept, Bishop Otto appears to be espousing what might be called a "fifth monarchy," e.g., a *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*, a conception of Rome's decaying power passed on to its successor, Germany.

The affinity between Daniel and the Virgilian vision was natural. Virgil was, for the Middle Ages, at once the prophet of Rome's imperial destiny and the supposed foreteller of the advent of Christ. It is not a priori impossible (Virgilian scholars continue to debate the point) that Virgil's fourth Eclogue, prophesying the birth of Christ, was strongly tinged with Judaized (Alexandrian) Sibylline prophecy; the vision of Aeneas of "better things to come" may have been similarly inspired. At any rate, whether the "Judaizing" interpretation is correct or not, it is a fact to be established here that the tradition formed among the German historians of a German *translatio* actually unites Daniel and the Virgilian imperial conception. Thus, as far as German historiography is concerned, the *translatio* flowed (ultimately, at any rate) from two heads: Scripture and the Virgilian-Christian dream of empire.<sup>18</sup>

#### IV. CHARLEMAGNE, THE LITERAL "TRANSLATIO"

Subsequent political and religious history continued to gravitate—in the above sense—toward the one great idea of the empire. The medieval theory of Charlemagne's accession to the Roman imperial title is the last restatement but one of the imperial idea. Under the impact of the Reformation, the ideal of Gothic enlightenment, based squarely on the concept of the German *translatio* and incomprehensible without it, in fact, stands, as we shall see, at the apogee of the development of

the imperial idea. Absolutely decisive for this subsequent political and religious history was Charlemagne's accession in 800 to the imperial crown. Because of the imperial diadem resting on Charlemagne's brow, the whole of history, as in Daniel, continued to be looked upon as a succession of great monarchies, successively intrusted by God with the sovereignty of nations. Now sovereignty was intrusted to the Germanic peoples.

However illusory the Frankish emperor's real power, however shadowy his title as compared with the papal claim of supremacy, or even however unwilling Charlemagne was (as some records suggest) to accept the imperial diadem, the Roman imperial idea persisted as a result of Charlemagne's accession.<sup>19</sup>

Charlemagne is referred to in the histories as "most serene Augustus." Like the first Augustus, his mission was conceived as an effort to spread peace and civilization over the world. One of Charlemagne's seals reads: "Renovati Romani imperii."

The early biographer of Charlemagne, known to us as the Monk of St. Gall, dips into Scripture and revives the Danielic prophecy, connecting it with the crowning of Charlemagne:

After the omnipotent ruler of the world, who orders alike the fate of kingdoms and the course of time, had broken the feet of iron and clay in one noble statue, to wit the Romans, he raised the hands of the illustrious Charles the golden head of another, not less admirable, among the Franks.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> R. S. Conway is sympathetic to the Judaizing interpretation of Virgil (cf. the third essay in *Virgil's messianic eclogue, three studies* [London, 1907] by Joseph B. Mayor, W. Warde Fowler, and R. S. Conway). H. J. Rose is sharply critical of the interpretation: ("A child is born," *The Eclogues of Virgil* [University of California, 1942], chap. viii). Cf. in Rose, esp. pp. 180 and 195 on Eastern conceptions of "better things to come" possibly available to Virgil and certainly floating around at the time. Comparetti is, of course, classical on the medieval Virgil.

<sup>19</sup> Herbert Fischer, *The medieval empire* (2 vols.; London, 1898), Vol. I, chap. 1, "The survival of the imperial idea"; indispensable is James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (London, 1904), chap. II et passim; also useful are: F. Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926); P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (Leipzig, 1929); Walther Rehm, *Der Untergang Roms* (Leipzig, 1930); F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (8 vols.; 4th ed.; Stuttgart, 1886-96), also available in translation; see esp. Vol. I.

<sup>20</sup> A. J. Grant (trans.), *Early lives of Charlemagne* (London, 1926), p. 59.

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In 871 Emperor Louis II wrote to Basil of Byzantium:

The race of the Germans has brought forth the most abundant fruits to the Lord. . . . For as God was able to raise up children like Abraham, so from the barbarism of the Germans He had been able to raise up successors to the Roman emperors.<sup>21</sup>

In 1239 Frederick II protested against the action of Gregory IX in stirring up enemies against him; he asks his enemies to remember the dignity of the German empire, holding the monarchy of the world:

Exurgat igitur invicta Germania, exurgite populi Germanorum. Nostrum nobis defendatis imperium, per quod invidium omnium nationum, dignitatem omnium et mundi monarchiam obtinetis.<sup>22</sup>

The *Chronica* of Bishop Otto of Freising is a landmark of the interim development of the transformed imperial idea. The Danielic spirit dominates Bishop Otto's viewpoints toward history, as is made clear in his letter, dedicating his work to Rainald:

Preterea, quo ordine currat haec historia breviter exponam, ut hoc incognito qualitas operis facilius pateat. Quator principalia regna, qua inter cetera eminent, ab exordio munde fuisse in finemque eius secundum legem totius successive permansura fore ex visione quoque Danielis percipi potest. Horum ergo principes secundum cursum temporis enumeratos, primo scilicet Assyrios, post subpressis Chaldeis, quos inter ceteros historiographi ponere dedigantur, Medos et Persas, ad ultimum Grecos et Romanos, posui eorumque nomine usque ad presentem imperatorem subnotavi. . . .<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cited by James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), p. 367.

<sup>22</sup> Carlyle, V, 142.

<sup>23</sup> Ottonis Episcopi Frisingenses, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolphus Hofmeister (Leipzig, 1912), p. 5: "Next I shall briefly explain the order in which this history proceeds, that, when this is known, the nature of the work may be the more readily apparent. That there were from the beginning

Bishop Otto directly connects, in turn, the Danielic prophecy with the *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*:

Et de potentia quidem humana, qualiter a Babilonius ad Medos et Persa ac inde ad Macedones et post ad Romanos rursumque sub Romano nomine ad Grecos derivatum sit, sat dictum arbitror. Qualiter vero inde ad Francos, qui occidentem inhabitant, translatum fuerit, in hoc opere dicendum restat.<sup>24</sup>

Interpreting the significance of Charlemagne's crowning by the pope, Bishop Otto concludes triumphantly: "As Rome fell, Francia arose to receive her crown."<sup>25</sup> Of royal lineage himself, Bishop Otto was at once (as Mierow points out) a prince of the realm and a servant of the church. If there is not in Bishop Otto (as there is unquestionably among the German reformers later) a nationalistic bias, there is at least a dynastic bias, which tends toward an aggrandizement of Germany at the expense of Rome's fame. Bishop Otto is of considerable importance, therefore, as a transitional figure.

In fact, the exact difference between Bishop Otto and the Reformation historians is indicated in his lack of assurance in his attempt to explain in final terms

of the world four principal kingdoms which stood out above all the rest, and that they are to endure unto the world's end, succeeding one another in accordance with the law of the universe can be gathered in various ways, in particular from the vision of Daniel. I have therefore set down the rulers of these kingdoms, listed in chronological sequence, first the Assyrians, next (omitting the Chaldeans, whom the writers of history do not deign to include among the others) the Medes and the Persians, finally the Greeks and the Romans" (trans. C. C. Mierow, under the title, *The two cities* [New York, 1928], p. 91).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Prologus, Lib. v, p. 227: "Regarding human power—how it passed from the Babylonians to the Medes and the Persians and then again to the Greeks under the Roman name—I think enough has been said. How it was transferred from the Greeks to the Franks, who dwell in the West, remains to be told in the present book" (Mierow, p. 322).

<sup>25</sup> Mierow, p. 322; text in Hofmeister, p. 226: "cum iam Roma cadente Francia ad accipiendam coronam surrexerit."

exactly why God transferred the gift of empire to the Germans:

Quare autem populi vel illi urbi hanc potius quam aliis gratiam contulerit, discutere non possumus . . . si quis vero contentiosus est, audiat in potestate figuli esse, aliud vas in honorem, aliud facere in contumeliam.<sup>26</sup>

Such lack of assurance is not to be found among the Protestant reformers discussing the same ideas; Luther, for example, denounces the entire idea of Rome's empire, although, interestingly, he employs the same arguments based on certain racial inheritances which the humanists developed in support of their theory of a German *translatio*. The Reformation, in other words, supplied the fulcrum for applying the *translatio* lever to the very foundation of the Roman claim of universal supremacy. In the hands of the German humanist reformers, the *translatio* became a loud and insistent summons to Germans to a renewed faith in the religious meaning of what their ancestors had accomplished in the past and what they themselves might hope to accomplish in the future. The *translatio* summoned the Germans to a rebirth or rejuvenation of the world. As a direct parallel to the secular victory of their Gothic ancestors in freeing the world from Roman political tyranny, the Reformation was to ransom humanity again, this time from Roman religious tyranny. The reformers approached their task with an apocalyptic fervor. While denouncing Roman depravity, they were making it perfectly clear that the era of justice promised both in the Danielic and the Virgilian visions of "better things to come" would

be created by the morally pure, humane Germanic peoples. Thus Virgil's centuries-old divine prophecy ironically gave birth with the passing of time and under religious exigency to a new prophecy of Gothic enlightenment. Even while representing Virgil's deeply felt conception of a Palladium of mankind, the prophecy of Gothic enlightenment at the same time represented the culmination of Rome's might. Before, the propitious stars had shone on Rome; now it was the Germans' day. God was with the Germans, and they were lucky!

#### V. THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

"Omnia Romae est venalia"—the many satirical effusions denouncing the corrupt Roman clergy have been too well canvassed in standard literary histories to require additional mention. Our purpose will have been achieved if we bring to light the fact that the indignation of the reformers was based on arguments drawn from implications resting on a theory of traditional racial characteristics. It was the *translatio* which was causing the ferment of racial ideas. On the basis of the *translatio*, the humanists were enabled to offer an antecedent explanation of the divine strategy in bringing about a transfer of world domination to the Germans where, as we have already seen, Bishop Otto has none or even feels that an explanation is forthcoming. The explanation lay in a sharp contrast which they found—or pretended to have found—between an overripe, decadent, immoral Latin culture and a youthful, vigorous, morally pure Germanic culture. God had evidently willed that the decaying Roman Empire give over world dominion to the Germans, who in their vigor and purity qualified to usher in "better things to come," a glorious period of justice and faith. Hence the analogy between the Gothic victory in antiq-

<sup>26</sup> Hofmeister, p. 134: "But why He bestowed this boon [eternity] upon that people or that city rather than on others we cannot even discuss . . . but if any man is contentious let him hear that it is in the power of the potter to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor" (Mierow, p. 221).

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<sup>27</sup> Luther  
C. A. Buch

uity over the Romans, Daniel's prophecy, Charlemagne's crowning, and their own demands for freedom from Roman religious tyranny. Hence the humanist creation and fulfilment of their own demand for a thorough historical research into Gothic and German antiquities in order to establish the antithesis of *Deushtum* with *Romanitas*.

Luther's is an interesting case to begin with, because he is so similar and dissimilar to his humanist allies. It is true that Luther argued not as a novelty in the church but for a restoration or a continuation of pure, primitive Christianity before it was defiled by Rome. It is also true, however, that, as compared with the humanists, Luther is devoid of a historical sense. He disdainfully turns away in his *Address to the German nobility from the translatio*. Yet, in doing so, it is significant that (1) he reflects a discussion of the *translatio* going on about him and, more important, (2) he pictures, nevertheless, the same contrast between Latin depravity and German purity which the more historical-minded humanists were never tired of stressing. Luther's first move in the *Address* is to point out that the Roman Empire proper had long disappeared from the face of the earth: "There is no doubt that the true Roman empire of which the prophets spoke was long ago destroyed."<sup>27</sup> Luther explains Pope Leo's crowning of Charlemagne as a typical act of Roman knavery. Unable to control the Eastern line of rulers, the pope cunningly devised the scheme of transferring the imperial diadem to the unspoiled Germans, hoping thereby to dominate the Germans:

Since the Pope could not force the Greeks and the emperor at Constantinople, which is the hereditary Roman emperor, to obey his will, he invented this device to rob him of

his empire and title, and give it to the Germans, who were at that time strong and of good repute, in order that they might take the power of the Roman empire and hold it of the Pope.

It was only a trick, however, depending, in the first place, for success on the vulnerability of the Germans because of their simplicity. Here is the typical contrast between Latin depravity and German kindness:

Therefore the Pope and his followers have no reason to boast that they did a great kindness to the German nation in giving them this Roman empire; firstly because they intended no good to us in this matter, but only abused our simplicity to strengthen their own power against the Roman emperor at Constantinople.<sup>28</sup>

If the *translatio* theory had never existed, Luther would nevertheless have attacked Rome. Yet his view of Roman cunning and Germanic simplicity sounds suspiciously like the racial doctrines which the humanists were spreading in response to the call of the most indefatigable protagonist of German historical research, Matthias Flaccus Illyricus: "historia est fundamentum doctrinae."<sup>29</sup> Illyricus himself was to show the way to solve contemporary problems by going back to the past not only in the *Magdeburg centuries* but in a text entitled *De translatione imperii Romani ad Germanos*.<sup>30</sup>

Secular histories of the German past, but powerfully shot through with the apocalyptic fervor imparted by the conception of a *translatio* brought about with

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 237.

<sup>28</sup> In a letter to Archbishop Parker in England, quoted by Eleanor N. Adams, *Old English scholarship in England from 1566-1800* (New Haven, 1917), p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> Basilee, 1566; for Daniel, see p. 3; for Charlemagne, see chap. III, "De translatione imperii occidentalis in Carolum Magnum." Cardinal Bellarmine refuted Flaccius and similar theorists: *De translatione imperii Romani adversus Illyricum*. Cf. also E. A. Ryan, *Historical scholarship of St. Bellarmine* (Louisville, 1936), pp. 69-70.

<sup>30</sup> *Luther's primary works*, ed. Henry Wace and C. A. Buchheim (London, 1896), p. 235.



the aid of God, blossomed in support of the German claim for religious freedom. Ironically, it was an Italian and papal legate (later a pope), Aeneas Sylvius, who stimulated the study of the German past. In 1454, in order to encourage the Germans to take a leading role in the crusade against the Turks, he praised German virtue by calling attention to what Tacitus had written in the *Germania* concerning German moral purity, vigor, and invincibility.<sup>31</sup> His publication in 1496 in Leipzig of his German history, entitled *Descriptio de situ moribus et conditione*, stimulated a whole series of German researches into their ancestors by the German humanists, Bebel, Aventinus, Celtis, Beatus Rhenanus, Sebastian Münster, and others.<sup>32</sup>

P. S. Allen, with his matchless knowledge of the Reformation, comments on the Nordic-Latin contrast; it will not pass unnoticed that he also points to the *translatio* leaven, which is animating the lump: "Italy might vaunt the glories of ancient Rome; but Germany also had deeds to be proud of. Rome might have founded the World-Empire; but Charlemagne had conquered the dominions of the Caesars and made the Empire Germanic." It was vitally necessary and even a duty, therefore, for the German humanists to study German antiquities, especially as recorded in Tacitus' *Germania*. Professor Allen continues:

Classic antiquity, too, could not be denied to the land and people whom Tacitus had described; and Germans were not slow to claim the virtues found among them by the Roman

historian. . . . German faith and honour, German simplicity, German sincerity and candour—these are insisted upon by the Transalpine humanists with a vehemence which suggests that while priding themselves on the possession of such qualities they marked the lack of them in others.<sup>33</sup>

Preserved Smith, also a competent historian of the Reformation, stresses the German self-awareness of their distinct entity, particularly as it contrasted at all points with the Latin entity. The Reformation, as the Germans conceived it in the light of the Gothic conquest of Rome in antiquity, was to free the world from tyranny a second time:

In two aspects, the Reformation was the religious expression of the current political and economic change. In the first place, it reflected and reacted upon the growing national self-consciousness, particularly of the Germanic peoples. The revolt from Rome was in the interests of the state-church and also of German culture. The break-up of the Roman church at the hands of the Northern peoples is strikingly like the break-up of the Roman Empire under pressure from their ancestors.<sup>34</sup>

Italian arrogance, in particular, was galling to the Germans, for did not the historical facts make clear that the mantle of world dominion had fallen not on Italian but on German shoulders? Who, then, were the barbarians—Italians or Germans? Martyn Mayr, chancellor to the Elector of Mainz, asks these questions in a letter to Aeneas Sylvius (1457) and summons the Germans to regain their old liberties:

A thousand cunning devices are being resorted to ingeniously for the purpose of extorting money from us barbarians. Therefore our nation, once of great fame, who acquired with her courage and blood the Roman

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Pauck, "Nationalism and Christianity," in *Environmental factors in Christian history*, ed. J. T. McNeill, M. Spinka, and H. R. Willoughby (Chicago, 1939), p. 293.

<sup>32</sup> In addition to the works specifically mentioned in this essay, see, for a good working bibliography, James Westfall Thompson, *The history of historical writing* (2 vols.; New York, 1942), Vol. I, chap. xxx, "The historiography of the German Reformation."

<sup>33</sup> P. S. Allen, *The age of Erasmus* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 266, 274.

<sup>34</sup> *The age of the Reformation* (New York, 1920), p. 747.

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empire and was the mistress and queen of the world, has become poor and a tribute-paying maid; in this misfortune she has now for many years been complaining of this miserable lot. Now, however, our heads have awakened as it were from their slumber and are beginning to consider measures with which to check this evil. They have determined to throw off the yoke and to regain their old liberties.<sup>35</sup>

The letter is striking evidence of the German pride in their acquisition of Rome's empire.

Hans Sachs traces the imperial idea and recounts how the Roman Empire fell into the hands of the "lößlich teutsche nation":

Ein tags ich ehrenholt fragt

.....

Wie das [Rome] auch entlich kommen wer  
Auff löblich teutsche nation.<sup>36</sup>

In the polemic of Ulrich von Hutten, one finds the main ideas in the Reformation-created tradition of German enlightenment and Roman obscurantism. Hajo Holborn, Hutten's biographer, suggests that lectures on Tacitus' *Germania*, delivered by Aesticampianus and attended by Hutten, aroused in him the conception of a distinctive German national history.<sup>37</sup> In a work by Hutten, Dame Italy addresses the German emperor and says: "Thy people is now the greatest. Formerly it was Rome."<sup>38</sup> Here, Hutten's viewpoint is balanced: the emperor is to consider himself the heir of the Roman Em-

pire but also the proud recipient of a distinctively German legacy. As his animosity toward Rome became aroused, however, Hutten expresses himself in terms of a biting contrast between German manliness and Roman effeminacy and also in unrestrained praise of Maximilian as heir to the Roman title:

Exaudi nos Caesar, exaudi, innocentum  
patrone, conservatore iustitiae, libertatis vin-  
dex, cultor pietas; exaudi nos, successor  
Augusti, aemuli Traiani, dominator orbis,  
rector humani generis.<sup>39</sup>

The Romans are *weibisch*:

Ein weibisch volck, ein weyche schar,  
On hertz, on mut, on tugent gar,  
Der keiner hatt gestritten nye,  
Von kryegen weissz nit was, noch wie,  
Da sind wir uberstritten von,  
Im hertzen thut mir wie der hon.<sup>40</sup>

In "Inspicientes," a Lucianic dialogue between Sol and Phaeton, the Germans are *starck*:

PHAETON: Wei sind sye [the Germans] von  
leib?

SOL: So gesund, starck, wolgeschicht  
und vermüglich als keine anderen.

The Germans are invincible: "seind die Sachsen unüberwindliche kryegs leut." In a discussion of the topic, "Gut vertragen der Teutsche" and "Der Italianer untreue," even the complexions of the two peoples contrast and for good reason, says Hutten: the Italian is pale "bleych von angesicht," whereas the German is "rot-farbig," a sign that "sye leben in freuden, un gutem vertragen."<sup>41</sup> In another tract the Germans are again hailed as a free and invincible folk: "Semper enim liberi fuerunt Saxones, semper invicti."<sup>42</sup> Another essay assures his German readers

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by Hans Kohn, *The idea of nationalism* (New York, 1944), p. 389.

<sup>36</sup> Hans Sachs, "Histori: das römich Reich," ed. Keller-Goetze, *Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, CLXXIX (1886), 192.

<sup>37</sup> Hajo Holborn, *Ulrich von Hutten* (New Haven, 1937), pp. 43-44.

<sup>38</sup> Ulrich von Hutten, "Epistola ad Maximilianum Caesarem Italiae fcticia," *Opera Ulrichi Hutteni*, ed. Eduard Böcking (5 vols.; Leipzig, 1859-62; 2 supplementary vols., 1864-70), I, 106; cf. also Holborn, p. 75.

<sup>39</sup> V, 82: "In Ulrichum Wirtenbergensis, Oratio quarta."

<sup>40</sup> III, 513.

<sup>41</sup> IV, 287, "Inspicientes."

<sup>42</sup> I, 389, "Ad Fridericho Saxonum."

"Quod Germania nec virtutibus nec ducibus ab primoribus degeneraverit."<sup>43</sup> The *Germania* of Tacitus is patently the source of the conception of the manly, kindly, morally pure German of antiquity. In connection with Tacitus, Hutten's wit leaps to the occasion in the dialogue, *Vadiscus*. The pope had given Beroaldus a ten-year stay on any other printing of Tacitus as a reward for printing the 1515 edition. Hutten knows the facts but pretends ignorance and professes to be mystified as to why the one historian who has spread the fame of the old German people should not be printed further:

Auch mich ärgert diess vor allem Andern, Warum also, versetzte ich, scheuest du dich, Tacitus den Deutschen vor Augen zu bringen, einem Schriftsteller, der mehr als irgend ein andrer um den alten Ruhm unsres Volkes sich verdient gemacht hat?<sup>44</sup>

Based on the account in Tacitus, Hutten founded an Arminius-cult. Hutten created in Arminius a symbol of German national character. Reading the history of Arminius' smashing defeat of the Roman armies under Varus, Hutten made Arminius the German liberator par excellence: "Arminius Cheruscum liberrimum, invictissimum et Germanissimum."<sup>45</sup>

John Carion's *Chronicle* (translated by Walter Lynne in 1550) brings together the arguments drawn from Daniel, the *translatio*, and the literal *translatio* of the imperial power to Charlemagne. In his

<sup>43</sup> III, 331 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted from the German translation by David Friedrich Strauss, *Gespräche von Ulrich von Hutten* (Leipzig, 1860), p. 102.

<sup>45</sup> IV, 46, "Arminius." Cf. Paul Joachimseus, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 106. Also useful are: Paul Ulrich, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Berlin, 1936); Hans Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewusstsein der deutschen Humanisten am Ende des 15. und am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1913).

preface on the "use of readyngne histories," Carion proclaims not only the transfer of power but God's providence in selecting the Germans for a special role in history:

The fyrst was of the Assirians, ye second of the Persians, after them the Grekes, the last ye Romans. And to the honor of such an empire or superiorite, hath God exalted ye Germanes before other nations in these latter times. . . . The Germane princes, and chefly the electors ought to estime greatly this their honour, that they have such high authoritey comitted them of God, to preserve religion, iustice and commune peace.<sup>46</sup>

Carion's chapter "Of the Germanes," begins: "Carolus Magnus was crownde Emperor of Leo III, the very Christmasse, thys was the begynnyng of translatyng the empyre to the Germanes."<sup>47</sup>

John Sleidan's famous *Commentarii* (1555) also fits German history into the *translatio* framework:

And of those four greate Monarchyes of the Worlde, theyr greate alteration and succession, be taught us by the Prophette Daniell. . . . The Romain Empire whyche should both be the last, and also much greater than the rest, the prophet said should be devided, and brought from that huge and unmeasurable great quantity, to a right small thing, as it is now manifest, whiche consisted within the limites of Germany.<sup>48</sup>

Sleidan's *De quator summis imperiis* (1561) is devoted exclusively to the *translatio*:

Thus the Empire of the West was translated to the Germans: for there is no doubt but Pepin and Charles were Germans. . . . Thus the Western part of the Roman Empire, torn to pieces, as evidently appears from what I have already said, after the Seat of Empire was translated from Rome to Constantinople, was restored by the Emperor Charles, and as it were, received a new Face, so many, and

<sup>46</sup> *The thre bokes of cronicles* (London, 1550), b<sup>4v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Book III, fol. cxxvii.

<sup>48</sup> *Commentaries*, trans. John Daw (London, 1560), fol. Aiiiir.

so great Provinces being restored to one Body, by his Valour and Success.<sup>49</sup>

Sleidan calls upon the authority of Daniel to explain what might be called the German "fifth monarchy": "Last of all, I'll explain how Daniel foretold this vicissitude of these Empires, and the fall of that of Rome."<sup>50</sup> He concludes:

From what I said, we may see how that Great and August Empire of Rome, whose Power never was, nor never will be equalled, sunk from all its Grandure, and was wholly torn to pieces and dissipated.<sup>51</sup>

The *translatio*, as we have already seen, goes hand in hand with antiquarian research either into the Carolingian imperial title or, in remoter history, into an attempt to find in the Gothic victory in antiquity over the Romans the psychological or racial reasons for the success of the Germans. The arguments of Conrad Celtis rest not so much on the *translatio* as on the racial theory, apotheosizing German manliness, piety, courage, etc. Maximilian and Charles V both had realized the value of employing the humanists to shore up their imperial pretensions. The coronations of Hutten, Bebel, and Celtis as laureates were the device for rewarding the historical researches of the humanists. Celtis, in his *Germania generalis*, goes back to the past in order to establish the distinctive qualities of the German folk. The Germans are manly: "vox quae nil muliebre sonat, sed tota virilis." They are pious: "religionis amans superumque et cultor honesti." They have courage:

Nec signis timidusque mori resemque  
cruorem

Pro patria et caris certans effundere amicis  
Atque avidus caedis, si qua illa iniuria  
laesit.

<sup>49</sup> *De quator summis imperiis: an historical account of the four chief monarchies or empires of the world . . . now newly Englished* (London, 1695), pp. 131, 140.

<sup>50</sup> P. 143.

<sup>51</sup> P. 199.

They are called Germans because they lived together in amity like brothers:

Germanos vocitant Latii, Graii sed adelphos  
Quod fratrum soleant inter se vivere more. . . .

They are an industrious people: "ingrata ignavam vitae tolerare quietem." The emphasis is on German restlessness; no doubt Celtis has in mind the German *Völkerwanderungen*—particularly in England, this stress was to grow into a theory of world renewal through the means of mass migration, the Germans spreading their gift of enlightenment wherever they wandered.<sup>52</sup>

Sebastian Brant discusses the meaning of the *translatio* for German history in his work, entitled *De iuribus et translatione imperii*.<sup>53</sup> His *Carmina* (1498) also reflect the idea:

urbemque sacram

Continuo in nostro reximus imperio. . . .<sup>54</sup>

The *Carmina* also record Brant's conception of the high destiny of the German emperor. In June, 1495, Brant had seen a number of falcons flying southward. Brant sees in the falcons a symbol of Maximilian on his southern expedition. The poem ends:

Theutones o fortes: nomen retinete vetustū:

Sitis Alemanni: fortiter ire deceat.

Est aliquid totiens monitos: totienq; vocatos

A saperis; satis credere; & illa sequi

Victoris deus ipse facit: qui causa triumphī:

Et dator est: ab eo gloria cūcta venit.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The text has been edited by F. Pindter (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 9-10; quotations, however, are from a more accessible text: *Deutsche Literatur, Reihe Humanismus und Renaissance*, ed. H. Rupprich (Leipzig, 1935). Book II, pp. 286-88. Cf. L. Sponagel, *Konrad Celtis und das deutsche Nationalbewusstsein* (Baden, 1939), pp. 20-34, "Die Entdeckung von Tacitus' *Germania*."

<sup>53</sup> *Argentoraci emisit*, 1508. Cf. Charles Schmidt, *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace* (2 vols.; Paris, 1879), I, 280 f.

<sup>54</sup> *Varia carmina* (Basel, 1498), a<sup>7</sup>v.

<sup>55</sup> Fol. 5, recto f.

"Deutsche treue" had become a proverbial expression.<sup>56</sup> The Nordic-Latin contrast gave the expression a sharp edge. Johann Agricola's *Drei hundert gemeyner sprichwörter* (1529) includes the proverb:

Sinte mal gemeynelich mit der sprache auch die sittē/ist zubesorgē der Deutschtē treu vñ glaugen bestand/warheit/welche tugent den Deutschtē auch die Walen als Cornelius Tacitus zugeschribē vñ geruhmet/werdē auch fallen.<sup>57</sup>

Johann Fischart's *Eikones* (1573) also contains the idea:

Standhafft und Treu, vnd treu vnd Stand-schafft,

Die machen eyn Recht Teutsch verwandt-schafft.<sup>58</sup>

Sebastian Münster teaches a *deutsche Wesen* by suggesting an etymon for the national name "German" as descriptive in itself of German vigor, manliness, etc. In his *Cosmographia universalis* (1544), Book III, chapter 6, entitled "Wie das Teutschland vor alten zeiten her genennt ist worden," Münster explains the names "German" and "Aleman":

Die vierdten nennen Alemannia sen ein Teutsch Wort un sen so viel alss Aleman und senen die Teutschen ihrer grossen starcke und starckes Gemutshalb Alemann genennet worden. . . . Etliche andere nennen Germania sen ein Teutsch Wort gleich wie Almand un sen so viel also Garmann oder Ganzmann.<sup>59</sup>

The pugnacity of the German, Münster goes on to explain, is an attribute of his manliness. The German is invincible in battle:

Wie mit grosser muhe und arbeit ja kosted und verlust die Romer vorzeiten gestritten ha-

<sup>56</sup> Archer Taylor, *Problems in German literary history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (New York, 1939), pp. 19 f.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 62. Tacitus *Annals* xiii. 14 is referred to.

<sup>58</sup> Taylor, p. 22.

<sup>59</sup> Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographie* (Basel, 1588), pp. 394-95, a German translation from the Latin original.

ben wider das Teutschlandt ist niemandt unwissend welche gelesen haben die alten Historien. Es ist ihnen gering gewesen under ihren Gewalt zu bringen Hispaniam, Galliam, Britanniam, Greciam, Asiam, Egypten, Macedoniam, und andere viel Lander: aber Teutschlandt wolt sich nicht so liederlich erge ben besonder das Teutschlandt das der Rhein von Occident und die Thonaw gegen Mittag als starcke Ringkmawren beschleusst. Es hat mäch tausent Män daruber müssen zugrund gehen zu beuden senten wie du horen wirst. Dan die Teutschen theten solchen gewaltigen Widerstandt den Romern und allen ihren Feinden das under ihren Nachbawren ein solch Sprichwort ausgieng: Will einer ubel Streiten so reib ei sich an die Teutschen. Und will einer Streich losen so fahe er ein Zanck an mit den Teutschen.<sup>60</sup>

Peter Schott in his *Lucubrationculae* (1498) states the whole matter much more succinctly:

Quod cum Romulides totum sibi vicerit orbem: Germanos numquam subdidit ipse sibi.<sup>61</sup>

The *gar-man* etymology passed into the dictionaries of the time as standard information. Calepini (*s.v.* "Germania") says: "Eruditi tamen inter Germanos huius vocis etymologicam ex sua lingua petunt. Illi enim *Gar* sive *Ger* totum dicunt & *Man* virum, quasi plane virum."<sup>62</sup>

Bodin, the French jurist, was not so easily swayed by the winds of Protestantism. His commentary is interesting because it reveals how widespread was the doctrine of the German *translatio*:

A long established, but mistaken, idea about four empires, made famous by the prestige of great men, has sent its roots down so far that it seems difficult to eradicate. It has won over countless interpreters of the Bible; it includes among modern writers Martin

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted by Tiedemann, p. 130.

<sup>62</sup> Ambrosii Calepini, *Dictionarium* (Lugdunl. 1634); cf. also Estienne's dictionary *s.v.* "Germania"; Bochart, *Geog. sacra* (1712), Lib. I, Cap. lxi, col. 667.

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Luther, Melancthon, Sleidan, Lucidus, Funck, and Panvinio—men well read in ancient history and things divine.<sup>63</sup>

No better summary within a single text of the range of the ideas we have been surveying can be found than in an essay by Drouet de Maupertuy (prefatory to his translation of Jordanes). First, he discusses the *urbs aeterna*, and he is almost pitying of the Romans for having permitted themselves to hold faith in the myth of the *urbs aeterna*:

Mais enfin qu'arrive-t-il, quand Rome est élevée à cet excès de grandeur? L'esprit de l'homme qui auparavant regardoit un Empire universel comme impossible & chimérique, s' imagine maintenant que Rome une fois établie est éternelle, & on ne conçoit plus par ou son pouvoir peut s'abolir. Cette idée favorise sur tout les Poètes, auxquels elle fournit des expressions merveilleuses, & un stile de Prophetie qui est incomparable pour les Vers. Elle se glisse insensiblement dans l'éloquence dont elle relève le sublime, & par malheur elle passe enfin chez les Historiens, & les Philosophes, qui ne distinguant pas assez le beau & le grand, d'avec le vrai & le certain, se laissent emporter comme les autres à cette opinion magnifique, mais trompeuse, de l'immortalité de Rome.

The real fact is, he goes on to say, that the Goths "ont renouvelé le face du monde":

Choisis pour abattre, & pour détruire l'Empire Romain, ils conquirent des sentimens conformes à cette haute destinée, & l'on vit en la personne des Alarics & des Théodories, des Héros dignes de l'éducation Romaine. ...

Voilà les Nations qui dans le quatre, le cinq, & le sixième siècle ont renouvelé le face du monde, & dont pour en parler sincèrement nous sommes tous descendus.

Maupertuy admits that there were also Attila and Genseric, who came only to

destroy; but, all things considered, is not the modern world universally in debt to the Goths?

Il me semble que nous devons laisser aux Romains à déplorer leur propre sort, puisqu'enfin nous ne saurions prendre leur parti, & reprocher aux Goths l'invasion qu'ils ont fait de l'Empire, sans leur reprocher en quelque sorte la naissance qu'ils nous ont donnée, ou du moins l'habitation qu'ils nous ont acquise par leurs armes.<sup>64</sup>

So low, then, had sunk the proud Augustan "Romanus sum." It is important to note that Maupertuy places the whole world or, as it appears, all non-Roman peoples, in debt to the Gothic liberators. It was out of precisely such discussions, with their roots in the German Reformation, that the term "Gothic" emerged not as a synonym for barbarism but enshrining the highest moral and spiritual values.

In their polemic against Rome, the German reformers had endeavored to show:

1. The *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos*, a world empire given over to the German people; Charlemagne, a German, had conquered the lands lost by the Romans
2. The essential moral purity of the Germans as attested by Tacitus; Roman priestcraft corrupted this moral purity
3. The distinctive entity of the German people, a folk united in spirit and temperament; hence, Roman Catholicism was Latin and alien
4. The mass-migration of the German peoples as the means for bringing about a world-renewal; restlessness (as in Celtis), constancy of purpose, and industry were the traits of Germanic character impelling the Germanic people onward
5. The analogy between the German demand for freedom from Roman ecclesiasticism and the breakup of the Roman Empire by the Goths; the Arminius-cult generated

<sup>63</sup> John Bodin, *Method for the easy comprehension of history*, trans. B. Reynolds (New York, 1945), p. 291. As a patriotic Frenchman, Bodin insists (p. 294) that Charlemagne was a Frank, not a German.

<sup>64</sup> Drouet de Maupertuy, "Discours," *Histoire générale des goths, traduite du latin de Jordanes* (Paris, 1903 [really 1703]), pp. vii, xviii f.

by Hutten was representative of the alliance in the period between historical research and reform; the researches of the humanists demonstrated what their forefathers had accomplished in the past against Rome and hence demonstrated at the same time what the Germans might accomplish in the present and the future.

Daniel and Virgil together made a potent brew whose heady effects on the German reformers were noticeable in the apocalyptic fervor with which they awaited the "better things to come," once the *translatio imperii ad Teutonicos* had been effected.

#### VI. ITALY AND THE RENAISSANCE

The importance of the Italian Renaissance for the complex semantic history of the term "Gothic" arises from the fact that the use of the epithet "Gothic" to denote the barbarous leaped into prominence among the Italian humanists. The reasons were apparently as deeply motivated as those which brought the term to the surface of German life to denote the opposite pole of Gothic enlightenment. It is not difficult to see that the retrospective view of the Italian humanists, while gazing on the sacred stones commemorating the glory of the old empire, would be bounded by Rome in a way impossible to the Germans or, certainly, differently from the Germans. In fact, but for the intervention of the Carolingian and Hohenstaufen dynasties in Italian political life, the glorification of the imperial ideal is imaginable only in Italy. Venerating the sacred soil because it had supported the old empire in the days before the Gothic onslaught, the Italian humanists would perforce look upon the Goths as barbarians and uncouth destroyers.

Not that the political unification of Italy which would correspond to the imperial ideal was more of a fact in Italy

than in Germany—it occurred in neither land. The imperial power, as a political reality, lay prostrate in either country, steadily weakened by feudal decentralization and localization of power by irresponsible dukes. In Germany the imperial ideal fructified, at least, in religious unification. The peculiar difficulty in Italy, hampering even the spread of the ideal as an ideal, arose from the fact that the king of the Germans was the feudal head of the invaders of Italy, whereas the emperor of Rome represented all the native aspirations toward the Virgilian ideal of Roman civilization. The difficulty was that, because of the papal coronation of Charlemagne, the king of the Germans and the emperor of Rome were the same person, representing the conflicting tendencies.

Symptomatic of the Italian ambivalent attitude are Dante's contradictory views of the role of the Goths in Italian history. The *Convivio* is neutral with respect to the Goths; it is Virgilian in its conception of the sacred Roman Empire: "divine reason was the beginning of the Roman Empire."<sup>65</sup> *De monarchia* repeats the Virgilian theme, but the viewpoint is now Ghibelline: since the emperor receives his title not from the pope but from God, the emperor is above the pope. In the *Divine comedy*, we find the final expression of Dante's position. He hails the German monarch, and it would appear that his Ghibelline viewpoint persists:

O German Albert. . . . Come and see thy Rome that weepeth widowed and alone, and day and night doth cry: "Caesar mine, wherefore dost thou not companion me?"<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Convivio*, Trattato IV, chap. 4, l. 125: "ma ragione, e ancora divina, e stata principio del Romano Imperio."

<sup>66</sup> *Purgatorio*, Canto VI, ll. 112-14 ("Modern Library Illustrated" ed., New York, 1944), p. 226. Albert I (emperor 1298 to 1308), like his father Rudolph, neglected Italy. He was succeeded by Henry of Luxembourg, on whom Dante rested all his hopes.

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But the point of view shifts once again. In the "Argument" preceding Canto VI of the *Paradiso*, Justinian rebukes both Guelph and Ghibelline factions. Justinian recites the history of Rome, and, while describing the triumphant flight of the Roman eagle over the conquered lands, he pauses to extol his general, Belisarius. Belisarius is famous because, having defeated the Goths and Vandals in battle, he upheld the Roman glory against the marauding barbarians. Such passages uphold the possibility of the use of the term "Gothic," on one side of an antithesis, with unfavorable connotations. On the other hand, however, Justinian's recital also includes mention of Charlemagne, who is extolled as a champion of Christendom who succored the papacy against the assaults of the Lombards. Such passages stand close to Dante's plea to "German Albert"; in fact, they stand close to precisely those claims of the German historians whose discussion of Charlemagne created the possibility of the usage of the term "Gothic" with eulogistic connotations.

Dante is idealizing, of course; it is the source of his greatness and unique combination of history and Christian philosophy. As Comparetti astutely points out, there appear in his poem the ideal emperors, Aeneas, Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, and Justinian, but not the bloody Nero.<sup>67</sup> Dante can accept Charlemagne, Albert, or Henry of Luxembourg only by idealizing them, by endowing them, that is, with the spiritual capacity to seize the high Virgilian ideal which dominates Dante's vision.

The ambivalent situation had existed in Germany even if that land failed to produce a singer of empire as sublime as Dante. Bishop Otto, we recall, balances his dynastic pride in the German ruling

house against his admiration of the classical past. Hutten, at the beginning of his writing career, before his animosity against Rome was aroused and before he came into contact with the humanist circle which was discussing the relevance of Tacitus' *Germania* to contemporary German life, also had a balanced viewpoint toward Rome, on the one hand, and the specific German destiny, on the other. An end to the ambivalence would have to be determined, both in Italy and in Germany, by external causes. In Germany the accumulation of papal abuses leading to the Reformation upset the equilibrium, and, as a result, the Goths and Romans emerged in a new equilibrium, symbolic of a deep and abiding conflict between Gothic moral purity and Latin decadence. In Italy the external cause upsetting the equilibrium was the rise of the free communes. The new city-culture brought to the surface that conception of a *rinascita* which created the parallel Gothic-Roman antithesis, but in reverse: the Romans symbolized the classic ideal of culture, the Germans stood for barbarism and ignorance. The great difference between the two manifestations was that in Germany the historical writing continued within the framework of supernatural teleology; the German historians are never far from Daniel. In Italy, on the other hand, pride in the ancient imperial ideal became secularized almost entirely either in republican pride in the local liberties of the free communes, as in the history of Bruni, or in a chronology derived from a fantastic astrological scheme, as in Villani. Ancient Rome was still the predominant fact on the historical horizon of the Italian humanists, but in the foreground there were the thriving communes whose newness alone suggested the idea of a *rinascita* in a new and modern form of the grandeur that was old Rome. Thus it is that Italian

<sup>67</sup> Comparetti, p. 220.

secular pride in the communes compelled the civic humanists (they were writing to please local patrons) to set off a "dark period" or "middle ages" in order to give expression to their self-awareness of the modernity of the communes. Add to this new periodization of history embracing the conception of a "dark period" the notion of a decline supposed to have set in with the Gothic invasions, and the conception of the "barbarian Goths" becomes fixed. Thus it was that the Italian humanists began the modern vogue of disparaging the Goths as barbarians. Medieval histories refer again and again to the barbarian Goths but probably on linguistic grounds alone, i.e., they did not speak Latin. Even the medieval references to the *furor Teutonicus* are probably as much commendatory as not, i.e., praise of German military valor and manliness were intended. But not until the abusive term is linked by the Italian Renaissance humanists to that view of history contained in the expression "Middle Ages" or "dark period" do we find that conception of a *rinascita* involving a decline supposed to have set in after Rome's fall which fixed the term "Gothic" as a trope for everything barbarous and ignorant.<sup>68</sup> Even the title of Trissino's epic is revealing. He calls his poem *L'Italia liberata dai Goti* (1547). Belisarius, in Trissino's account, expelled the Goths from Italy and safeguarded, as a result, the survival of classical traditions in Italy.

Mutual recriminations by Italian and German humanists only aided in disseminating further the Gothic-Roman

antithesis. Agricola, for example, is resentful of Italian arrogance:

I predict that we shall one day succeed in wresting from proud Italy that ancient renown for eloquence of which she has hitherto retained almost undisputed possession, and shall wipe away that approach of barbarian slothness, ignorance, poverty of expression and whatever marks an unlettered race, which she unceasingly assails us, and Germany shall be seen to be in learning and culture not less Latin than Latium herself.<sup>69</sup>

Erasmus' wit reveals the squabbles agitating the Italian and German humanists:

The Italians affirm they are the only Masters of good Letters and Eloquence, and flatter themselves on this account, that of all others they only are not barbarous. In which kind of happiness those of Rome claim the first place, still dreaming of somewhat, I know not what, of old Rome.<sup>70</sup>

P. S. Allen supplies a revealing anecdote. Pirkheimer, commenting on a manuscript of Irenicus' *Germaniae exegesis* (1518), in a letter to the author suggested: "More stress might be laid on the connexion of the Germans with the Goths, which the dregs of the Goths and Lombards—by which I mean the Italians—try to snatch from us."<sup>71</sup>

One additional point, perhaps an obvious one, needs to be re-emphasized. The Italian humanists could not agree on dating the beginning of the "modern" period, but all credit their own date by pointing to a new and original creation of the Italian cities, especially a creation in the arts, since such an example would be tangible. Thus, Cimabue and Giotto were held to have created the "modern" style of painting. More important is the ex-

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Nathan Edelman, "The early uses of *Medium Aevum*, *Moyen Age*, *Middle Ages*," *Romanic review*, XXIX (1938), 3-25; also XXX (1930), 327-30. Valuable is a study (containing a full bibliography) by Wallace K. Ferguson, "Humanist views of the Renaissance," *AHR*, XLV (1939), 1-28. Ferguson quotes fully from Bruni's republicanism, Villani's astrology, etc., and stresses the importance of the secular civic humanism.

<sup>69</sup> Cited by James B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge* (Cambridge University Press, 1873), p. 409.

<sup>70</sup> Erasmus, *The praise of folly*, ed. Mrs. P. S. Allen (Oxford, 1913), p. 89.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

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ample chosen from the field of architecture, since the term "Gothic" was inevitably joined to architecture. Brunelleschi in architecture was held to have created a style to replace the debased *maniera Tedesca* brought in, it was thought, by the Goths. Recurrences of the phrase "barbarous Gothic style" of architecture are too many to be numbered. The phrase is a cliché of Renaissance discussion of architecture.

#### VII. THE "GOTHS" IN ENGLAND

The *gar-man* etymology, indicative of German manliness, is encountered in England with sufficient frequency to establish its importance as one element in the English tradition of Gothic enlightenment.<sup>72</sup> As a matter of fact, there is a direct connection between England and Germany, since Münster's *Cosmographia* is explicitly mentioned as a source in our first English document. In his *Restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquity* (1605), Richard Verstegen points out the *gar-man* etymology:

As touching there names, of Germans and Almans sundry supposals have bin made; & of some peradventure that wel understood now how both thease names are but one, & have but one signification: for as in the later silable man they agree both in sound and in sense, so do they also agree in the former silables Ger and Al to wit in lyke sense, though not in sound, for the Ger or Gar (for both are indifferently used) is asmuch in the Tuitsch or Teutonic toung as all and wee englishmē have a phrase to say drink Gar aus and some not knowing what they say, in steed of Gar aus which is to say All out do say Car aus and thus Gar and all being shewed to bee the equivalent both German and Alman is

<sup>72</sup> It may be worth while remembering that the English pronunciation of the word "German" would facilitate the acceptance of the *gar-man* etymology: "German" would be pronounced "Garman," (except for the difference between the hard and soft g) as "clerk" is pronounced "clark."

then asmuch to say as All or wholly a man. And this name the Germans may wel at some tyme and upon some occasion have attributed or assumed to themselves, in regard of their malynesse and valor.<sup>73</sup>

Münster is also a direct source for Thomas Coryat's similar etymologizing. In *Coryat's crudities* (1611), we find:

The best and most elegant etymologie of all is to derive it [Alemannia] (as some learned doe) from two German wordes which doe altogether agree with our English even for Allman, as the people called Marcomanni (which are now of Moravia) had their name from March, which signifieth the bound of a country, and the word Man. So that they which deduce the name of Alemannia from Allman (as Munster doth) give the reason for it, because the ancient Alemannes were very courageous and valiant men, yea, they were All men: as when we in our English idiome doe commend a man for his valour, we sometimes say such a man is all courage, all spirit: so the Aleman quasi All man, he is all valour, every part of him is viril, manly, and courageous, no jot effeminate, which indeede was verified by their fortitude and manly cariage in their warres against the Romans.<sup>74</sup>

Pierre d'Avity in his *Estates, empires, and principalities of the world* (translated in 1615) also finds the name "Alemann" indicative of German character:

The Alleman, called sometimes Germann, by reason of their force according to some, for that in this word Germaine signifieth all masculine and strong; and according unto Strabo, for that they did imitate them in behaviour, and were as it were like unto them in disposition, and in the greatnesse of their bodies and their complexions. . . . The Alleman I say have alwaies beene very valiant and courageous.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Richard Verstegen, *Restitution* (printed at Antwerp but sold in London, 1605), pp. 12-13. For Münster, see p. 86, above.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's crudities* (2 vols.; Glasgow, 1905), II, 179.

<sup>75</sup> Pierre d'Avity, *Estates, empires, and principalities of the world* (London, 1615), p. 558.



Similarly, Peter Heylin:

Others will have the name to be meerly Dutch, deriving it from Ger, which signifieth all, and the word man, signifying it in that language as in ours; whence they derive the name of Almans; by which they would imply that the Almans or Germans are a very warlike nation, a people that have in them *nil nisi virile*, nothing not worthy of a man.<sup>76</sup>

Adam Littleton's *Latine dictionary* (1678) defines "Germania": "Rect. ab ipso Germ. ger i gar prorsus & man vir, ob fortitudinum laudem, sicut Alemanus, qu. alle man, i totus vir."<sup>77</sup> In emphasizing the warlike propensities of the Germans, the etymon, at times, is blended with another which explains *ger* as derived from *guerre*: hence *guerre-man* or warrior. A marginal note by John Milton, inscribed in a copy of Irenicus' German history, expresses the idea: "Germani quasi Gere man-vir exercitus. Ph. Melancthon: in suo Chronico lib. 2 rubri N. 174. Ger mans, as if men of the army."<sup>78</sup> Sheringham establishes *German* in this sense of *homo bellicosus*, but his explanation is based, first, on deriving the Germans from the tribe of Kimbri, the latter suggesting *Kampfer* or "fighter":

Cimbris hoc nomen ex fortitudine et ballica virtute partum est: Cimbri enim Germanice significat, robusti milites, pugiles et palaestrici viri. Hinc etiam, ni fallor, Germanus suum nomen. Germanus enim idem valet quod Kimber, id est, homo bellicosus, a Guerre, quod bellum, et Man, quod hominem significat.<sup>79</sup>

The difference between *ger-man* and *guerre-man* may be of some importance. *Homo bellicosus* resembles the medieval *furor Teutonicus* in that it may indicate censure (in the sense of a belligerent man) or praise (in the sense of a courageous

man). Praise is clearly intended (contributory to the tradition of Gothic enlightenment) since both etyma tend to fuse, as in William Slatyer:

For German and Germany are thought by some to be names imposed by others, not themselves; others thinke of themselves imposed for terror to the Romans, and other Invaders, German & Alman signifying a stout warrior, Gar being the same with all, as Gar aus (whence our Carouse) all is out or off: so Gar-man or Ger-man, and Alman, wholly a Man or a stout man! The like name took the Sycambers or Sigh-Campers, of Sigh-Victorie or Victorious and Campers, Fighters, or Combatters in the old Teutonic tongue.<sup>80</sup>

Beattie's *Minstrel* is another indication that praise is intended in the description of the German warlike spirit, since faith is its accompaniment or its source:

There lived in Gothic days, as legends tell,  
A Shepherd swain, etc.

Zealous, yet modest, innocent though free,  
Patient of toil, serene amidst alarms;  
Inflexible in faith, invincible in arms.<sup>81</sup>

In Gilbert West's *Stowe*, the Goths are not only valiant but wise: "a Nation, valiant, wise and free."<sup>82</sup> Henry Brooke's *Gustavas Vasa* which presents Gustavas as a doughty Gothic monarch also presents his valor as the fruit of his virtue:

GUST.: A cause like ours is its own sacrament;  
Truth, justice, reason, love and liberty.  
The eternal links that clasp the world,  
are in it.<sup>83</sup>

Gibbon refers to "the fierce giants of the North" who ravaged the Roman Empire; but, unless the speculations on the *trans-*

<sup>76</sup> *The history of Great Britaine* (London, 1621), p. 43.

<sup>81</sup> William Beattie, "The minstrel," *The poetical works of Beattie, Blair, and Falconer*, ed. Rev. George Gilfillan (Edinburgh, 1854), p. 5. "Gothic" days may simply mean medieval days, but the qualities of the shepherd-swain are clearly Gothic.

<sup>82</sup> (London, 1732), p. 17.

<sup>83</sup> In *British drama* (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 380.

<sup>76</sup> *Cosmographie* (London, 1652), p. 36.

<sup>77</sup> (London, 1678), s.v. "Germania."

<sup>78</sup> The "Columbia" *Milton*, "Marginalla," XVIII, 345.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Sheringham, *De Anglorum gentis origine desceptatio* (Cambridge, 1670), p. 56.

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latio had had their effect, Gibbon would not have gone on to say that the fierce giants "restored a manly spirit of freedom; and after the revolution of ten centuries freedom became the happy parent of taste and science."<sup>84</sup> The question of why it was that England and not Germany, on the basis of the same arguments drawn from traditional racial inheritances, forged ahead and succeeded in the name of their Gothic forefathers in creating a democratic government poses for formal historians an interesting problem, which, in our primary concern with the "Gothic myth," need not concern us. At any rate, where Germany succeeded in bringing about in the Protestant Reformation only a Gothic religious revolution, in England, where the Gothic propaganda dominated the consciousness of the period as strongly as in Germany, Gothicism was knit into a close moral-religious and political unity. For this reason, it will not come as a surprise that the arguments for Gothic enlightenment appear in the same context as discussions of Gothic political liberty. William Penn's impassioned plea for religious toleration rests, as we shall presently see, on the basis of Gothic political sentiments. In addition, the same phenomenon also explains why a tradition in England, dating from Bede's day, contrasting native moral purity with Romish corruption, meeting the stream of ideas derived from the Gothic secular political propaganda, ramified in a doctrine of Gothic moral enlightenment. England progressed confidently toward the double ideal of Anglo-Saxon democracy and Protestantism. This is "pure" doctrine, so to speak, of Gothicism; the antidemocratic glorification of the state, as in Treitschke's polemic and the lurid National Socialist experiment, do not encour-

age one to seek for "pure" Gothicism in Germany.<sup>85</sup>

The account in the second book of Bede's *Ecclesiastical history* of Augustine's mission to England in 597 supplied the starting-point of a discussion which, by a process of exaggeration, could be made (and was made) into an evil picture of Augustine and Latin depravity. In Bede the English reformers found memories of a native, undefiled Christianity contending with Roman corruption. As the story of Augustine's mission is told and retold countless times throughout the seventeenth century, the Nordic-Latin contrast becomes explicit, and in Thomas Salmon, for example, we find an echo of Luther's idea in the *Address to the German nobility*: because of their very simplicity, the native clerics were an easy prey to the wily schemes of the worldly papal legate, sent to England to crowd the English churches into the greedy Roman maw. The seventeenth-century narratives, based on Bede, stress Augustine's overbearing manner, his haughtiness, his recourse to mystery-mongering, and, finally, paint him as a bloodthirsty murderer. The humility and simple piety of the native monks contrast at all points.<sup>86</sup>

The religious tracts of William Penn,

<sup>85</sup> Even Tacitus justifies the idea of "pure" Gothicism, since the *Germania* praises both Germanic democracy and virtue. Even religious Gothicism was contaminated in Germany. Treitschke, at least, kept Luther's Christianity pure; but Ludendorff's emphasis on an autochthonous druidical religion antedating the papacy ended in a pagan blood-ritual. Dr. Stukeley's eighteenth-century druidism ended, as we shall see, in Christianity—pure and Nordic. Dr. Stukeley thought, in harmony with the general Gothic program of restoring English institutions to their primitive, native purity. (For Ludendorff's *Teutschthumerei*, from which the gentle Dr. Stukeley would have recoiled in horror, see his *Deutschgläubige*).

<sup>86</sup> An almost endless list of tracts could be made, setting forth these arguments. I mention three: Francis Godwin, *Catalogue of the bishops of England* (London, 1615), p. 43; Richard Bernard, *Look beyond Luther* (London, 1624), p. 31; Daniel Featley, *Roma ruens* (London, 1644), p. 42.

<sup>84</sup> E. Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (6 vols.; New York, 1880), I, 289.

the great Quaker, mark the stage of development in the Gothic propaganda in England when the Nordic-Latin contrast latent in the picture of Augustine broadens into that view of English traditional political inheritances and racial characteristics, that complex of religious and political ideas, which is the aftermath in England of the intellectual currents set in motion by the Reformation in Germany. We find a direct cross-fertilization of Gothic political and religious ideas.

The cause to which Penn devoted his life was the winning of toleration for the dissenting religious sects, including his own, the Quakers. He recognized early on abstract grounds of conscience that civil liberty was incomplete without religious liberty. Since the various Test Acts disqualifying the dissenters were justified on the ground that dissent was dangerous to the state, Penn's two main arguments were devoted to showing (1) that it was possible for a dissenter to be a good citizen without being a member of the Anglican church and (2) that, historically, the oldest English church of the Saxons was completely independent of the state and that tradition and custom were, therefore, against the Test Acts. But, in addition, Penn was concerned to show that racial or psychological predilection was also against the Test Acts. In the last connection, Penn argues (borrowing his ideas from Continental sources) from the viewpoint of the Nordic-Latin contrast; the English, a branch of the Nordic stock, display the qualities of manliness which spell defeat for any plan, political or religious, seeking to keep them in subjection. Penn's tract entitled *England's present interest discovered* (1675) exhibits the extent to which the Gothic propaganda had molded his thinking.

Penn's theory of the rights of Englishmen is based on an interpretation of old

England as the Golden Age of Saxon freedom; he calls attention to

those rights and privileges which I call English, and which are the proper birthright of Englishmen, and may be reduced to three:

- I. An ownership, and undisturbed possession: that what they have is rightly theirs, and no body's else.
- II. A voting of every law that is made, whereby that ownership or propriety may be maintained.
- III. An influence upon, and a real share in, that judicatory power that must apply to every such law; which is the ancient, necessary and laudable use of juries: if not found among the Britons, to be sure practised by the Saxons, and continued through the Normans to this very day.<sup>87</sup>

Penn's affiliation with the Continental movement of reform is revealed in the fact that, like the German reformers, he goes back to Tacitus, i.e., to a historical record antedating his own nation's records to find evidence of a general Teutonic predilection for liberty. In the proof of his first principle of the right to an "ownership and undisturbed possession," Penn locates the evidence in Tacitus:

It is true that the footsteps of the British government are very much over grown by time. . . . However, Caesar, Tacitus, and especially Dion, say enough to prove their nature and their government to be as far from slavish, as their breeding and manners were remote from the education and greater skill of the Romans. Beda and M. Westminster say as much. . . . The Saxons brought us no alteration to these fundamentals of our English government; for they were a free people, governed by laws of which they were themselves the makers; that is, there was no law made without the consent of the people; *de majoribus omnes*, as Tacitus observeth of the Germans in general.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> William Penn, *Select works* (3d ed.; London, 1782), III, 203-4.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

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This passage is noteworthy because it combines condemnation of German uncouthness with praise of their distinctive predilection for liberty. Later (eighteenth-century) Gothicists either suppress all references to German illiteracy or, admitting it, make capital of it: the Goths were illiterate in the sense of being "undeveloped"—eager to learn from the Romans, they recoiled from Roman decadence; but in their youthful ardor and vigor, they soon matured and brought about a rejuvenation of the world.

In concluding his arguments for toleration, Penn returns to his principle of German liberty and cautions that any program of repression must fail:

Doth kindness or cruelty, most take with men that are themselves? H. Grotius with Campanella, well observed, "That a fierce and rugged hand was very improper for northern countries." Englishmen are gained with mildness, but inflamed with severity.<sup>89</sup>

Penn's sources in Grotius and Campanella are worth noting as evidence of the success of the German historians in disseminating the idea of Germanic vigor. The passage in Campanella is found in his "Aforismi politici," beginning: "Alli sententionalli per Natura feroci non convivene imerio stretto, etc." The ideas of Grotius on German liberty are recorded in his history of Holland and in his great juridical work, *De jure belli ac pacis*.<sup>90</sup>

In his proof of the second English birth-right, "A voting of every law that is made," Penn repeats the argument:

[The Saxons] brought this liberty along with them, and it was not likely they should

lose it, by transplanting themselves into a country where they also found it. Tacitus reports it to have generally been the German liberty.<sup>91</sup>

With so much of an introduction, drawn from general principles of Nordic psychological predilection, Penn proceeds to the heart of his argument and makes his plea for toleration and repeal of the Test Act. "Religion," he declares, "is no part of the Old English government. . . . Nigh three hundred years before Austin set his foot on English ground, had the inhabitants of this island a free government."<sup>92</sup> Penn's ingenuity lies in his adaptation of ideas which were first put into service in the cause of Protestantism against Rome, for the purpose of winning toleration for dissenters within the Protestant body itself. The battle for a national English church having been won, Penn is not concerned with attacking the papacy. His arguments reflect, however, the more extensive propaganda of the German reformers, who, on the basis of the *translatio*, established the concept of the distinctive psychological quality of the German folk. On the other hand, the cross-fertilization of religious and political ideas is the uniquely English manifestation of the idea of Gothic enlightenment.

Interesting because it recalls Luther's interpretation of the way in which the cunning pope inveigled the simple Germans is Thomas Salmon's description of the Augustinian mission to England. Salmon argues that Augustine deliberately raised the trivial issue of the type of tonsure which the native priests should wear, not that these things were of any great importance in themselves, but because of their Consequence. If they could but get them to alter anything for the sake of Rome, and bring so much as their Hair to be of the new Cut,

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>90</sup> Campanella, "Aforismi politici, No. 43," *Opere*, ed. A. d'Ancona (2 vols.; Torino, 1854), II, 18. Penn had a reading knowledge of Italian, gained from a stay in Italy. Hugo Grotius, *De antiquitate reipublicae Bataviae* (1630), translated in 1652 as *The antiquity of commonwealths* (London, 1652), p. 25; *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625), trans. Francis W. Kelsey (Oxford, 1925), II, 126.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231-32.

the Way would be made easier for receiving of the Papal authority.<sup>93</sup>

The Romans were worldly and mystery-mongers; the native priests, in contrast, were meek and devout:

Such was their Pageantry when they landed in Kent, that they were taken for Conjurers, rather than Preachers of the Gospel; and if we compare their proceedings with the Acts of Christ's apostles, recorded in Holy Scripture, those Suspicions would certainly have entered into the Hearts of all those that had been Christians already. The old Britains, when they met with them went upon more undoubted Grounds. They were sure that our Saviour was Meek and Lowly and that he required his Disciples to be so.<sup>94</sup>

In English druidic lore, especially where the eighteenth century is concerned, we find another channel directing the flow of ideas derived from the *translatio* thought-complex toward the doctrine of Gothic enlightenment. The fact that the Celts and Celtic druidism are not (according to modern understanding) Germanic, hardly disturbed the eighteenth century. The term "Gothic" was serviceable to include all non-Roman people. Pope, for example, confuses in his mind, Goths, Scythians, the Norse god Odin, and druids:

Of Gothic structure was the Northern side  
O'er wrought with ornaments of barbarous pride:

There huge Colosses rose, with trophies crowned,

And Runic characters were graved round.

There sat Zamolxis with erected eyes

And Odin here in mimic trance dies.

There on rude iron columns, smeared with blood,

The horrid forms of Scythian heroes stood,

Druids and bards. . . .<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> *Historical collections relating the originals, conversions, and revolutions of the inhabitants of Great Britain to the Norman conquest* (London, 1706), p. 269.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

<sup>95</sup> Pope, *Temple of fame* (Elwin-Courthope ed.), I, 209-10. Pope's own note on Odin is that he was

As the English writers stress, in their accounts of the druids, the moral enlightenment of the druids, their superiority even to the Greeks in learning, their piety, and their love of liberty, the idea emerges of Gothic enlightenment. Fletcher's *Bonduca* is an early idealization of native liberty and moral purity, especially as the latter is seen in contrast to Roman decadence. "Liberty we hold dear as life." Queen Bonduca flings down the challenge to the "vicious" Romans:

If Rome be earthly, why should any knee  
With bending adoration worship her?  
She's vitious; and your partial selves confess,  
Aspires the height of all impiety:

Therefore 'tis fitter I should reverence  
The thatched houses where the Britains dwell  
In careless mirth, where the blest household  
gods

See nought but chaste and simple purity.<sup>96</sup>

William Mason's druidical play,  *Caractacus*, echoes the theme of freedom:

His very thought big with his country's  
freedom

To fight the cause of liberty and Britain.<sup>97</sup>

Toward the close of the century, the French Revolution affected the interpretation of druidic liberty. In the preface to his translations from the Welsh poet, Llywarc Hen, William Owen Pughe points not only to druidic liberty but to druidic social equality. Edward Davies attacked Pughe's theory of druidic equalitarianism and demanded better proof:

It therefore rests with the advocates of this chair, to inform us, whether it was introduced into their code by the levellers of the seven-

"the great legislator of the Goths." Percy and Gray were exceptional in the period in avoiding the Celtic-Germanic confusion (Cf. Edward Snyder, *Celtic revival in English literature* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 9 f.

<sup>96</sup> *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. A. R. Waller (10 vols.; Cambridge, 1905-12), VI, 138, Act IV, scene 4.

<sup>97</sup> In *Poems* (London, 1764), p. 121.

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teenth century or fabricated during the late anarchy in France, as a new engine, fit for immediate execution.<sup>98</sup>

The druidic effusions of the period awakened the consciousness of the period not only to the tradition of native liberty but to the equivalence and even superiority of native learning to classical learning. It was not so much a question, it was pointed out, of the druids learning from Pythagoras as of Pythagoras learning from the druids. In the *Areopagitica*, Milton had already made this observation. Pezron, a French antiquarian considerably popular in the eighteenth century, spread the idea that the druids had civilized the Greeks.<sup>99</sup>

Dr. Stukeley's *Stonehenge* (1740) and *Abury* (1743) reveal best the manner in which sentiments of a pure, native Christianity, as practiced by druids before the land fell under corrupt Roman domination, were leading to the notion of Gothic enlightenment. Dr. Stukeley's point is that druidism was an autochthonous religion, antedating the papacy. In the preface to *Stonehenge*, he says:

My intent is (besides preserving the memory of these extraordinary monuments, so much to the honour of our country, now in great danger of ruin) to promote, as much as I am able, the knowledge and practise of ancient and true religion; to revive in the minds of the learned the spirit of Christianity, nearly as old as the Creation, which is now languishing among us . . . to warm our hearts into that true sense of Religion, which keeps the medium between slovenly fanaticism and popish pageantry. . . . And seeing a spirit of Scepticism has of late become so fashionable

and audacious to strike at the fundamentals of all revelation, I have endeavoured to trace it back to the fountain of divinity, whence it flows; and show that Religion is one system as old as the world, and that is the Christian religion. . . . I shall shew likewise, that our predecessors, the Druids of Britain, tho' left in the extremest west to the improvement of their own thoughts, yet advanc'd their inquiries, under all disadvantages, to such heights, as should make our moderns asham'd to wink in the sunshine of learning and religion.<sup>100</sup>

In his preface to the companion work, *Abury*, Stukeley again attacks the papacy, while asserting druidism to be the purest Christianity:

We may make the general reflexion from the present work, that the true religion has chiefly since the repeopling mankind after the flood, subsisted in our island: and here we made the best reformation from the universal pollution of Christianity, popery. Here God's ancient people the Jews are in the easiest situation, anywhere upon earth.<sup>101</sup>

William Owen Pughe likewise stresses the Nordic-Latin contrast: "It is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of the Welsh that, through the long and dark ages of Popish superstition, the Bards retained the Christian religion in its purity and simplicity."<sup>102</sup>

The evidence gathered from the druidic

<sup>98</sup> William Stukeley, "Preface," *Stonehenge* (London, 1740).

<sup>99</sup> Edward Davies, *The mythology and rites of the British druids* (London, 1809), p. 59, in reply to William Owen [Pughe], *The heroic elegies of Llywarc Hen* (London, 1809), p. liv.

<sup>100</sup> Abbé Pezron, *Antiquité de la nation et de la langue des Celts* (1703), trans. in 1706. Blake made a notable effort to weave the idea into his visionary system (cf. Denis Saurat, "Blake et les celtomanes," *MP*, XXIII [1925], 175-88).

<sup>101</sup> William Stukeley, "Preface," *Abury* (London, 1743). The reference to the Jews is incomprehensible unless one notes his description of Adam, Noah, and Abraham as druids. Blake's cryptic symbolism in *Jerusalem* is derived from the same theory of druidic origins ("Jerusalem the emanation of the Giant Albion. . . . Your ancestors derived their origin from Abraham Heber, Shem and Noah, who were Druids" [Poetry and prose of William Blake, ed. G. Keynes (New York, 1935), I, 597]). Edward Williams also traces druidism back to the Jews and emphasizes the contrast of pure druidic religion with corrupt Romanism: "Ancient British Christianity was strongly tinged with Druidism. The old Welsh Bards kept up a perpetual war with the Church of Rome" (Edward Williams, "Preface," *Poems* [London, 1748]).

<sup>102</sup> Pughe, p. xxxii.

lore in England is clear beyond dispute. The idealization among the English writers of druidic liberty, philosophic capacity, and religious purity is the parallel in England to the ideas engendered in Germany by the conception of the *translatio*; the discussions both in Germany and in England aroused memories of the wholeness of old Germanic institutions.

The idealization of primitive Germanic purity fell in with a great vogue in the eighteenth century of primitivistic speculation (as it may have, indeed, to a considerable extent aroused this kind of speculation). Even in the primitivistic frame of reference, Rome's colonization of England enters the picture as a symbol of an alien, corrupting influence. Shenstone's "Elegy XV" is inspired by current notions of "hard" primitivism and antiluxury, but the poem would nevertheless supplement and be fed by the propaganda of Gothic enlightenment. Shenstone writes:

'Twas on those downs, by Roman hosts annoy'd  
Fought our bold fathers; rustic, unrefin'd.  
Freedom's plain sons, in martial cares employ'd.  
They ting'd their bodies, but unmasked their mind.

'Twas there in happier times, the virtuous race,  
Of milder merit, fix'd their calm retreat;  
War's deadly crimson had forsook the place,  
And freedom fondly lov'd the chosen seat.

No wild ambition fir'd their tranquil breast,  
To swell with empty sounds a spotless name;  
If fost'ring skies, the sun, the show'r were blest,  
Their bounty spread; their field's extent the same.

Those fields, profuse of raiment, food and fire,  
They scorned to lessen, careless to extend;  
Bade luxury to lavish courts aspire,  
And avarice to city-breasts descend.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> William Shenstone, "Elegy XV," *Works* (2 vols.; London, 1764), I, 52-53. Shenstone's reference

Samuel Daniel's *Defence of rhyme*, written early in the seventeenth century, is an even more interesting example of "adventitious" Gothicism. A literary controversy over rhyming in verse, not politics or reform, supplied the *point d'appui* for his statements which raise Gothic culture to equivalence with the culture of Greece. Daniel argued that the fact that classical poetry did not employ rhyme was no argument against rhyme. The Greeks wrote to suit their own taste; English taste was different. Furthermore, genius is distributed universally, and it was sheer presumption on the part of the Greeks to condemn their non-Greek neighbors as barbarians. The fact of the case was that the non-Greeks were far from ignorant; the German tribesmen, for example, even created the prototype of all modern governments:

The Goths, Vandales, and Lombardes, whose coming downe like an inundation overwhelmed, as they say, al the glory of learning in Europe, have yet left us still their lawes and customes, as the originalls of most of the provinciall constitutions of Christendome; which well considered with their other courses of government, may serve to cleare them from this imputation of ignorance.<sup>104</sup>

In his *History of England*, Daniel specifically idealizes the natives of old England, contrasting them favorably with the tyrannical Romans:

And such was then the state of Brittain, Gaule, Spaine, Germany, all the west parts of Europe, before the Romans . . . did by strength, and cunning, unlooke those liberties of theirs. . . . And though the Brittaines were then simple, and had not that firebrand of

to the tinged bodies of the natives is intended to describe the Picts, so called in current theory because they painted their bodies. This demonstrates again the agglutinative quality of the Gothic tradition in the manner in which any of the non-Roman people are assimilated to the Gothic tradition.

<sup>104</sup> Daniel, "Defence of rhyme," in Smith and Parkes, *The great critics* (New York, 1932), p. 198.

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letters, yet seemed they more just, and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sense of honour, and worthinesse) as themselves.<sup>105</sup>

Once the identification had been made of the Englishmen as Goths, it is understandable how, on the basis of the etymologizing tendency (descriptive of Germanic innate manliness), the picture of pre-Augustinian church purity, the idealization of the druids, and other contributing sources (as in Daniel) of the idea of Nordic moral advancement, Englishmen thrilled to the new consciousness of the people of England as bearers of a divine mission, builders of a democratic and Protestant destiny at a new turning-point in history from which an era of enlightenment was to start.

In this mood of Gothic veneration, Bolingbroke writes:

How barbarous were those nations, who broke the Roman empire, represented to be Goths, for example, or the Lombards? And yet when they came to settle in Italy, and to be better known, how much less barbarous did they appear, even than the Greeks and the Romans? What prudence in their government? What wisdom in their laws?<sup>106</sup>

Hume's view encompasses a vision of a world renewal through the mass migration of the Germanic tribesmen. His account of "Anglo-Saxon government and manners" begins: "The government of the Germans, and that of all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always free."<sup>107</sup> He continues, picturing the rebirth:

Europe, as from a new epoch, rekindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base

servitude to arbitrary will and authority, under which she had so long laboured. The free constitutions then established, however impaired by the encroachments of succeeding princes, still preserve an air of independence and legal administration, which distinguish the European nations, and if that part of the globe maintain sentiments of liberty, honour, equity, and valour, superior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages chiefly to the seeds implanted by those generous barbarians.

Thomson's *Seasons* discusses the Gothic renewal through mass migration:

Wide o'er the spacious regions of the north,  
That see Boötes urge his tardy wain,  
A boisterous race, by frosty Caurus pierced,  
Who little pleasure know and fear no pain,  
Prolific swarm. They once returned the flame  
Of lost mankind in polished slavery sunk;  
Drove martial horde on horde, with dreadful sweep  
Resistless rushing o'er the enfeebled south,  
And gave the vanquished world another form.<sup>108</sup>

The discussion of Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* belongs properly to French history, but the popularity of his book in England requires mention of his special version of the Nordic-Latin contrast. He sees in the formula a natural affinity of the transalpine people for Protestantism and for southern people a natural affinity for Catholicism:

When the Christian religion two centuries ago, became unhappily divided into Catholic and Protestant, the people of the north embraced the Protestant; and those of the south adhered still to the Catholic.

The reason is plain: the people of the north have, and will forever have, a spirit of liberty and independence, which the people of the south have not; and therefore a religion which has no visible head, is more agreeable to the

<sup>105</sup> *The complete works in verse and prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. Grosart (5 vols.; London, 1896), IV, 87.

<sup>106</sup> Bolingbroke, "Fragments or minutes of essays," *Works* (5 vols.; London, 1754), V, 111.

<sup>107</sup> David Hume, "Appendix 1," *History of England* (6 vols.; London, 1754-62), I, 144 f.

<sup>108</sup> James Thomson, "Winter," *Seasons* ("Oxford" ed.; London, 1908), p. 216, ll. 835-42.

independency of the climate than that which has one.<sup>109</sup>

The preface to John Pinkerton's *Dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians or Goths* reveals how securely the doctrine of Gothic enlightenment had been established:

Yet such is our ignorance, who are but slowly eloping from barbarism, that the name of Goth, the sacred name of our fathers, is an object of detestation. . . . Instead of turning our admiration to that great people, who could annihilate so potent an empire, instead of blessing the period that delivered all kingdoms from the dominion of one, we execrate our progenitors, to whom we are indebted for all our present happiness!

"Rome, Rome," Pinkerton continues, "what were thy laurels to these? Great and divine people!"<sup>110</sup>

In Gibbon's monumental *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, a revenge motivation enters into the Nordic-Latin contrast. Gibbon tells the story of Odin, the hero of the northern people, fleeing from Asia to the north before the pursuing army of Pompey, the Roman general. With this Odin legend, concocted by monkish chroniclers of the Middle Ages, Gibbon connects a prophecy that Odin and his followers will emerge from the north to chastise the Romans as enemies of mankind.<sup>111</sup> Gibbon's return-and-conquer theme thus enhanced the idea of Rome as a blight and pictured the north-erners as a rescue party. It is significant

that Gibbon is going beyond his sources. Chapter v of Snorri's *Heimskringla*, for example, merely says that Odin's Ases fled from Asia in fear of the conquering Romans. In stressing or introducing a revenge motif, Gibbon is being affected by the *translatio* thought-complex.<sup>112</sup>

The revenge motif reappears in Mallet's *Northern antiquities*, which, in Bishop Percy's translation, became a popular book on the north. According to Mallet:

Several learned men have supposed that a desire of being revenged on the Romans was the ruling principle of his [Odin's] conduct. Driven from his country by those enemies of universal liberty, his resentment, they say, was so much the more violent as the Teutonic tribes esteemed it a sacred duty to revenge all injuries, especially all those offered to their relations and country.<sup>113</sup>

Mallet is somewhat skeptical as to the legend, but the reason why he accepts it reveals how compelling the concept of Gothic enlightenment had become:

I cannot prevail on myself to raise objections against so ingenious a supposition. It gives so much importance to the history of the north. It renders that of all Europe so interesting, and, if I may use the expression, so poetical, that I cannot admit these advantages as so many proofs in its favour.<sup>114</sup>

Mallet is moved also by the idea of a world renewal, but he employs another figure of speech:

Like a tree full of vigour, extending long branches over all Europe; we see them also carrying with them, wherever they came, from

<sup>109</sup> Montesquieu, *Spirit of the laws* (2 vols.; London, 1750), Book XXIV, chap. v; see also his *Lettres persanes*, Letter cxxxvi. Thor J. Beck (*Northern antiquities in French learning* [New York, 1934]), oversimplifies extremely the sources of Montesquieu's ideas, as he falls also to benefit by the monograph of Jacques Barzun (*The French race* [New York, 1932]), which traces a French democratic tradition dating from the Renaissance. It is entirely probable that Montesquieu was in touch with the whole Gothic literature of France.

<sup>110</sup> John Pinkerton, "Preface," *Dissertation* (London, 1787), pp. viii f.

<sup>111</sup> Book I, chap. x.

<sup>112</sup> Gibbon may have had access to certain eighteenth-century Italian histories which definitely execrate Rome as a curse and praise the Goths as liberators; for Carlo Denina and Vincenzo Cuoco and their break with the Italian humanist tradition, see F. Masciolo, "Anti-Roman and pro-Italic sentiment in Italian historiography," *Romanic review*, XXXIII (1942), 366-84.

<sup>113</sup> Mallet, *Northern antiquities*, trans. Bishop Percy, revised by I. A. Blackwell (London, 1847), p. 82.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

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<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> Sir V  
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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

the borders of the Black Sea to the extremities of Spain, Sicily, and of Greece, a religion simple as martial as themselves, a form of government dictated by good sense and liberty, a restless unconquered spirit. . . .

He also repeats the horticultural figure and adds the revenge motif:

By these means was liberty preserved among the inhabitants of Germany and the North, as it were in the bud, ready to blossom and expand through all Europe, there to flourish in their several colonies. . . . Its [Rome's] celebrated name, that name which had been so long its support, was only a signal of vengeance, which served as it were to rally and assemble at the same instant all the northern nations.<sup>115</sup>

The revenge motif found its poet in Sir William Drummond, author of *Odin* (1817). In the poem, the Genius of the river Goths prophesies:

From my name  
The lords of Europe shall their name derive.  
The Goths victorious shall subdue the land.<sup>116</sup>

The Genius continues, addressing Pharnaces (an alias for Odin):

Thou soul, O mortal, soars above thy state!  
Then give it wing, and let it win the skies.  
Thou would'st eclipse the Roman in his pride,  
And overthrow his empire. Bold emprise,  
Yet vast and noble; worth Ambition's aim!

Book I ends with Pharnaces' acceptance of his destiny:

My sons shall raise new temples to new Gods;  
And wrest the sceptre of the world from Rome.<sup>117</sup>

The history of the idea of Gothic enlightenment among the Victorians was affected by new influences. The triumph of liberalism in the Reform Bill of 1832 and the triumph of progress in the rapid industrial expansion of England induced the

Victorians to see their period as a fulfillment or maturation of the Reformation ideal. Liberalism, Protestantism, and Progress resulting from industrial enterprise suggested a contrast with the monarchy-ridden, Catholic, agrarian states of the Continent. Thus the idea of Gothic enlightenment took on a new life. The Gothic trait, in particular, of restlessness, but steadied by another Gothic trait of constancy of purpose, was dwelt upon by the Victorians. A "Danish ode" by Michael Bruce, strikes the tone:

On wings of wind we pass the seas,  
To conquer realms, if Odin please:  
With Odin's spirit in our soul,  
We'll gain the globe from pole to pole.<sup>118</sup>

The ode may have been "Danish" but no Englishman, particularly an Englishman bearing the "white man's burden," would find difficulty in adapting the idea to England.

Bruce is writing in an earlier day than the Victorians, but he is indicative of the new wind which was blowing. Walter C. Perry, writing in 1857, sees the Germanic folk as the people of the future:

If the Greeks and Romans are rightly called the people of the past, the Germans, in the wider sense of the appellation, have an undoubted claim to be considered the people of the present and the future. To whatever part we turn our eyes of the course which this favored race has run whether under the name of Teuton, German, Frank, Saxon, Dane, Norman, Englishman, or North American, we find it full of interest and glory. Majestic in nature, high in spirit, with fearless hearts, on which no shackle had been laid, they came forth from their primeval forests to wrestle with the masters of the world.<sup>119</sup>

Macaulay's writings are attuned to the triple ideal of liberalism, Protestantism,

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 126.

<sup>116</sup> Sir William Drummond, *Odin: a poem* (London, 1817), p. 32.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 52.

<sup>118</sup> Michael Bruce, *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 209.

<sup>119</sup> Walter C. Perry, *The Franks* (London, 1857), opening paragraph.



and progress. The *History* is practically a hymn indited to William of Orange, the champion of the cause of Protestant Europe against Catholic France. But it is the essay on Von Ranke, the historian, which reveals most of the Victorian phase of the movement of Gothic ideas:

Our firm belief is that the North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Protestant Reformation, and that the decay of the Southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival.<sup>120</sup>

It is obvious that Macaulay has in mind a conception of traditional Germanic racial inheritances:

In the northern part of Europe, the victory of Protestantism was rapid and decisive. The dominion of the Papacy was felt by the nations of Teutonic blood as the dominion of Italians, of foreigners, of men who were aliens in language, manners, and intellectual constitution.<sup>121</sup>

The Teutonic principle is basic to the entire historical outlook of Edward A. Freeman, one of the period's great historians. Freeman identifies Teutonism with moral heroism; prosperity, liberty, and reformed religion are its fruits. In his essay on "National prosperity and the Reformation," he asserts: "There can be no doubt that the Protestant theology suits a free people better than the Catholic theology does."<sup>122</sup> The Teutonophilia of Freeman's major opus, *The growth of the English Constitution*, is too obvious to mention, but the point made of the quality of Teutonic restlessness needs emphasizing:

The wisdom of our forefathers was ever shown, not in a dull and senseless clinging to

things as they were at any given moment, but in that spirit, the spirit alike of the true reformer and true conservative, which keeps the whole fabric standing, by repairing and improving from time to time whatever parts of it stand in need of repair or improvement. [He means, of course, the Teutonic forefathers].<sup>123</sup>

Sharon Turner works out his conception of the Teutonic striving for progress in terms of a distinction between Nomadic and Civilized peoples. The Nomadic people have the store of energy and moral heroism; the Civilized people are soft and morally invertebrate. "The Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, Goths, and Northmen have been distinguished by these [Nomadic] characteristics."<sup>124</sup> This is Turner's version of the theory of world renewal through migration. Turner was also (surprisingly) a poet, and he describes the transfer of Rome's decaying empire to the Goths:

While Rome's superior virtues spread their beam,  
Its empire floated in majestic stream.  
Corrupting in its day of glory, down  
It sank, despis'd, before the Gothic crown.  
Germania's skin-cloth'd salvages [*sic*] assume  
The virtues it forsook, and hurl'd its doom.<sup>125</sup>

Carlyle, Coleridge, Kingsley, J. R. Green, J. A. Froude, Bulwer-Lytton, Meredith, Matthew Arnold—the list of those who start from racial assumptions could be made to include nearly every writer of the period; in every case, the German is the protagonist of valor, piety, constancy of purpose, restlessness, etc. There can be no question, as Sharon Turner says, that there was perpetual dis-

<sup>120</sup> Macaulay, "Von Ranke," *Essays* ("Oxford" ed.; London, 1913), p. 506.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 486.

<sup>122</sup> E. A. Freeman, *Historical essays* (4th ser.; London, 1892), p. 289.

<sup>123</sup> E. A. Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution* (London, 1887), p. 20.

<sup>124</sup> *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (3 vols.; London, 1828), I, 19.

<sup>125</sup> Sharon Turner, *Prolusions* (London, 1819), p. 151.

course in England concerning Gothic enlightenment: "Our language, our government, and our laws, display our Gothic ancestors in every part: they live not merely in our annals and traditions, but in our civil institutions and perpetual discourse."<sup>126</sup> The positive genius of the Gothic writers was that they created an image, so easily understood, of the noble, humane, morally pure, brave, and free Goth. A tradition as old as Daniel and Virgil introduced into England, through the mediation of the German reformers, the conception of a Gothic rescue party which had twice ransomed humanity: once in antiquity, the second time in the Reformation.

The disenchantment with Rome was not so complete that the tradition formed by the Italian humanists of the Gothic barbarians did not persevere. The point hardly needs illustrating; it is too obvious. For all that the *translatio* was made an

article of English faith, the eighteenth-century society still prized a gentleman's ability to exchange a Latin quotation, and the staple of education remained the classical texts whereby young Englishmen were trained to form ideals of urbanity and grace. These could no more be obliterated than thinking can. Actually, for Englishmen, there was no conflict between the classical ideal of serenity and grace and Gothic muscularity and irrepressible energy. The eighteenth-century rationalistic temper always found excellence in a just mixture of opposing qualities; faults were always identified with excesses in any one extreme. The present-day Englishman sees himself as imperturbable yet morally earnest, quietly active; the antitheses could be extended. Possibly, he is worshipping, Narcissus-like, an ephemeral self, but the picture of that self was first drawn in the many discussions in England of Gothic and Roman antiquities.

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<sup>126</sup> Turner, *History*, I, 52.

## THE SOURCE OF DRYDEN'S "COMIC PLOT" IN *THE ASSIGNATION*

JAMES URVIN RUNDLE

OF THE so-called "comic plot" in Dryden's *The assignation* (1672), Langbaine wrote: "The Characters of Aurelian, Camillo, Laura, and Violletta, are taken from Scarron's *Comical Romance*, in the History of *Destiny* and *Madam Star*. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Scott commented on this: "Langbaine . . . labours to show, that the characters are imitated from the 'Roman Comique' of Scarron. . . . But Langbaine seems to have been unable to comprehend, that originality consists in the mode of treating a subject more than in the subject itself," to which Saintsbury added: "Scott's sentence on Langbaine is just and final. . . . The charge of plagiarism, as far as the *Roman Comique* is concerned, is simply preposterous."<sup>2</sup>

As Ned Bliss Allen notes,<sup>3</sup> it is possible that Saintsbury read only chapter xiii of Scarron's novel, incorrectly indicated by Langbaine for chapter xv, which contains the plot in question. Allen discusses the "borrowing" from Scarron in some detail, saying, among other things: "Dryden's characters are not Scarron's. Dryden did take from Scarron one of the situations in which Aurelian, Camillo, Laura, and Violletta move, but that is all."<sup>4</sup>

But Dryden did not use Scarron. The action involving the four lovers was based on a play by Calderon, *Con quien vengo vengo*, which Scarron himself had used.

In Calderon's play, Leonor, who has

<sup>1</sup> *An account of the English dramatic poets* (London, 1691), p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *The works of John Dryden*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, revised and corrected by George Saintsbury (Edinburgh, 1883), IV, 368.

<sup>3</sup> *The sources of Dryden's comedies* (Ann Arbor, 1935), p. 187 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185-87.

been courted by Juan secretly for two years, is forced by the return from war of her brother, Don Sancho, to arrange night rendezvous in her garden. Instructed by her to bring along a servant, Juan takes, instead, his friend Octavio, who has just come to Verona. Leonor's letter to Juan is discovered by her sister, Lisarda, who, by a coincidence the like of which never much bothered the *capa y espada* writers, orders Leonor to let her disguise as Leonor's maid for the meeting. At the encounter, Lisarda is captivated by the supposed lackey's voice and wit. Melancholy over being attracted by one so greatly her inferior, she determines to see him by day to conquer emotion. She is repelled by the real servant's ugly face, but, after telling him never to return, torn by the memory of his voice and conversation, she says,

Licencia, Celio, te doy;  
Ven a verme; porque el verte  
Solo ha de excusar mi muerte.<sup>5</sup>

Celio, a bit of a *lindo Don Diego* to begin with, conceives that she has fallen in love with his person, an illusion he carries almost to the end of the play. The second nightly rendezvous of the lovers is interrupted by Don Sancho's coming. In the brawl which ensues, Octavio and Don Sancho recognize each other as former friends and rivals, each of whom blames the other for the unfortunate results of an earlier love affair in Milan. Eventually, both Juan and Octavio escape, the latter taking Lisarda (whom he mistakes for Juan's beloved) with him, and Sancho,

<sup>5</sup> *Con quien vengo vengo* (Las Comedias de D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca, ed. J. J. Kell [Leipzig: E. Fleisch-er, 1830], Vol. IV, Act II, p. 326).

that he may hunt his enemy, hands Leonor for safekeeping to his friend Ursino, the father of Juan, who happens past on his way home from a card game. After a series of complications and revelations that need not concern us here, Sancho, seconded by Ursino, challenges Octavio and Juan. They are beginning the duels when the Governor, Leonor, and Lisarda appear. Explanations follow, and all are happy in the matching of Juan with Leonor and Octavio with Lisarda, the governor standing *padrino de todos*.

Scarron's story, which shows a goodly number of verbal reflections of Calderon, follows the plot of the Spanish play, with these important changes:

(1) Calderon's Celio, who is fairly well developed as a self-admiring fop capable of thinking himself the object of a lady's love, is reduced to an unnamed *valet breton*, who has no personality (aside from the fact that he sleeps soundly after being drunk) and who enters into the action only to carry a message to the younger sister after the first night, at which time "mademoiselle de Léry [Lisarda] fit conversation avec le Breton, qui sans doute ne la divertit guere."<sup>6</sup>

(2) Destin [Octavio] does not marry the lady-servant, for the excellent reason that his love is elsewhere bestowed.

(3) The character of the ladies' brother is lowered, Ursino becomes a barbarous brother of Verville [Juan] who tries to rape one of the ladies, and the ladies are given a father.

From Calderon, Dryden took the following plot and character elements:

1. The general situation, including the plot through the second night meeting. The action is altered to permit Benito to break up both rendezvous through his ineptitude.

2. The continuance of the disguised

servant's courtship.<sup>7</sup> There is also, of course, similarity in the rank of the persons who bless the marriage at the end of the play—the Governor in Calderon, Prince Frederick in Dryden.

3. Part of the character of Benito. This we shall discuss at greater length in a moment.

4. One small touch that is interesting, though of no real importance: Aurelian explains to Camillo why he keeps such a pest as Benito: "For my part, I had turned him off long since, but that my wise father commanded the contrary" (Act I, scene 1). And this is all that is kept of Juan's father, who was important to the second, but merely introduced in the first, action of *Con quien vengo vengo*.

Dryden omits or alters these portions of *Con quien vengo vengo*:

1. The ladies' brother is turned into an uncle, as the conditions of Restoration comedy would require. Consequently, all that portion of the plot relating to the altercation between Octavio and Sancho—that is, everything past the second rendezvous except the conclusion—is omitted.

2. As noted above, the action at the rendezvous is changed to permit Benito to show his clumsy wares.

3. In Dryden, Camillo had seen, and been smitten by, Laura, and she had seen and admired him. Their marriage—perhaps implied—is not arranged in the play.

4. Act V, scene 2, of *The assignation*, part of which scene is taken from La Fontaine, has no correspondent passage in *Con quien vengo vengo*.

We are safe, I believe, in saying that Dryden did not use the French novel in addition to the Spanish play. As others have noted, there is no similarity between

<sup>7</sup> Allen notes: "Destin did not continue his courtship of the 'maid-servant,' as did Aurelian, even when he found out who she was, for he had been in love all along with a certain Lénore, and Mlle. de Léry married Verville's brother, Saint-Far" (p. 186).

<sup>6</sup> *Roman comique*, ed. Fournel (Paris, 1857), I, 150.

Dryden's characters and those of Scarron. Nor are there any real verbal reflections. Allen calls attention to the one passage in Dryden which is verbally *similar* to Scarron: "... when on a third occasion she [Laura] meets Aurelian, again disguised with the help of darkness as the valet, finds that he is again witty, and says: 'I think your wit comes to you, as the sight of owls does, only in the dark,' her words are like those of Scarron's Destin, who had observed that Mlle. de Léry 'Ne pouvait comprendre pourquoi j'avois plus d'esprit la nuit que le jour.'"<sup>8</sup> Without other and closer verbal reflections, we can hardly make a case for Dryden's using *Le Roman comique*.

From Calderon, Dryden got nothing of the characters of the four lovers. Calderon's people are the stock figures of the *capa y espada* play. Juan is the usual serious, passionate lover, and Octavio is as colorless as the exigencies of Spanish intrigue often demanded. Both have the usual amount of pride in their honor. The *damas* are typical *capa y espada* ladies, driven by a brother unreasonably jealous of family honor to the garden adventures. Yet their care for their *opinión* is as great as the gentlemen's for their honor.

Dryden's people are intended, of course, to be the usual Restoration witty lovers, fond of skirting the fringes of conversational bawdiness. A single comparison of parallel passages in the two plays will serve to illustrate the general disparity in both tone and characters. In *Con quien vengo vengo*, when Lisarda decides to accompany Leonor as her maid, she says:

En traje disimulado  
Yo tu criada he de ser  
De noche, porque he de ver,  
Si es tan honesto el empleo  
De tu amor y tu deseo,  
Como me das á entender.

<sup>8</sup> Allen, p. 186.

Seis cosas así consigo;  
Ser con nuestro honor leal,  
Ser contigo liberal,  
Y ser honrada conmigo;  
Dar á tu amor un testigo,  
Que temas enamorada;  
Suspender despues la espada  
De Don Sancho, cuando venga,  
Y excusar al fin, que tenga  
Que callar una criada.  
Envia pues el papel,  
Y empiece el engaño hoy

[Act I, p. 316].

In the mouth of Laura, this becomes:

'Tis concluded then. You shall meet your servant, but I'll be your Beatrix: I'll go instead of her, and counterfeit your waiting-woman: in the dark I may easily pass for her. By this means I shall be present to instruct you, for you are yet a callow maid: I must teach you to peck a little; you may come to prey for yourself in time [Act I, scene 1].

Allen remarks: "Certain parts of the comic plot are at variance with surrounding material. . . . For instance, Camillo and Violetta, two of the witty lovers, speak once in the following romantic vein . . .,"<sup>9</sup> and he quotes in illustration a passage from Act II, scene 3, of *The assignation*. Both this passage and another (which latter contains even verbal reflections) are modeled on the corresponding passages of *Con quien vengo vengo*. The parallels are given in full at a later point in this discussion.

As we have seen, Dryden uses Benito at some points in the action as Calderon used Celio. Certain elements of Benito's makeup were also in Celio. When the latter observes Lisarda regarding him closely (and with disgust), he says in an aside:

Haré una apuesta,  
Que está diciendo entre sí:  
¡Qué generosa presencia!

[Act II, p. 325].

<sup>9</sup> Allen, pp. 175-76.



Benito does not scruple about expressing such a thought, but says:

What means all this surveying, madam? You bristle up to me, and wheel about me, like a turkey-cock that is making love: Faith, how do you like my person, ha? [Act III, scene 1].

This element of the *lindo Don Diego* in Celio is, of course, greatly developed in Benito, who includes much of the typical Restoration fop.

The two characters are alike, also, in their reaction to the notion that a lady of quality might have fallen in love with them. Benito's soliloquy at the close of the above scene with Laura is obviously patterned on what Celio says as Lisarda leaves him:

Cielos! ¿quién ha de entender  
La cifra de aqueste enfado?  
Mas pues solo me han dejado,  
Un soliloquio he de hacer.  
Recibirme melindrosa  
Lisarda, hablarme turbada,  
Advertirme recatada,  
Y guardarme generosa,  
Enfadarse y desdecirse,  
Quererme ir y enfadarse,  
Despedirme y retratarse,  
Mandar que venga y partirse,  
¿No me está diciendo aquí  
(Que no es otra cosa, no):  
Necio, entiéndeme; que yo  
Me estoy muriendo por tí?  
¡Pues alto, esperanza vana!  
No hay en esto duda alguna;  
Quel el que es de buena fortuna,  
Lo que no envida, no gana.  
Desde hoy tengo de asistir  
Noche y día; desde hoy  
Su eterna figura soy;  
Pues que yo puedo rendir  
Con mi buen arte, y con mi  
Buen ingenio y mi gallarda  
Presuncion, una Lisarda,  
De las mas lindas que vi

[Act III, p. 326].

I am undone for ever: What shall I do with myself? I'll run into some desert, and there I'll hide my opprobrious head. No, hang it, I won't neither; all wits have their failings sometimes, and have the fortune to be thought fools once in their lives. Sure this is but a copy of her countenance; for my heart is true to me, and whispers to me, she loves me still. Well, I'll trust in my own merits, and be confident [Act III, scene 1].

Later, at the garden gate, when Lisarda calls, "Celio, Celio," that worthy tells Juan:

Aguárdate tú, no llegues;  
Que Celio dijeron; y es  
Lisarda, que á hablarme viene,  
Enamorada de mí [Act II, p. 329].

In the corresponding scene of *The assignation*, Benito gets his cue from a letter.

CAM. [Reads]: *I prepared this ticket, hoping to see you in the chapel: Come this evening over the garden wall, on the right hand, next the Tiber.*

AUR.: We are right, I see.

CAM.: *Bring only your discreet Benito with you, and I will meet you attended by my faithful Beatrix.*

VIOLETTA

BEN.: Discreet Benito! Did you hear, sir? [Act IV, scene 5.]

Thus, while it is true that, for the complete character of Benito, Dryden adapted and developed materials from his own *Sir Martin Mar-All* and Quinault's *Jodellet*, it becomes quite obvious that the debt to Calderon, both for the foundation of Benito's character and for his place in the action, is great.

But Dryden's debt is even greater than one of plot and character. Throughout most of the second action of *The assignation*, there are verbal reflections of *Con quien vengo vengo*, with some lines actually translations. In the parallel passages listed below, I have, for the reader's convenience, italicized in both the Spanish and the

English texts those portions which are translated or paraphrased.

Dryden uses Calderon's opening scene midway in his first act:

*Salen LISARDA y LEONOR, asidas de un papel.*

LEON.: No le has de ver.

LIS.: *Es en vano*  
*Defenderle ya.*

LEON.: *Resuelta*

*Estoy antes á hacer . . .*

LIS.: *Suelta.*

LEON.: Un exceso en él villano.

LIS.: Ya el papel está en mi mano.  
¿Cómo has de excusarte ahora  
De que le vea?

LEON.: Señora,  
Hermana, Lisarda, advierte. . .

LIS.: Esto ha de ser desta suerte  
[Act I, p. 315].

*Enter LAURA and VIOLETTA, striving about a letter, which LAURA holds.*

VIO.: *Let it go, I say.*

LAU.: I say, let you go.

VIO.: Nay, sweet sister Laura.

LAU.: Nay, dear Violetta, *it is in vain to contend; I am resolved I'll see it* [Act I, scene 1].

In discussing the plans for the night rendezvous:

OCTA.: Esta dama os pone á un riesgo  
Notable, y os da licencia,  
Que para el seguro vuestro  
Lleveis un criado.

JUAN.: Sí.

OCTA.: ¿Pues en cualquiera suceso  
Cuanto es mejor un amigo  
De satisfaccion y esfuerzo?  
Yo, como vuestro criado,  
He de ir con vos ... [Act I, p. 321].

CAM.: But Violetta desired me, in her note, to bring him [i.e., Benito], on purpose to pass the time with her woman, Beatrix.

AUR.: That objection's easily removed:  
*I'll supply Benito's place . . .*

[Act II, scene 2].

When the lover objects that his friend may be discovered no servant:

OCTA.: Pediré  
Licencia á mis sentimientos,  
*Y diré mil disparates ...* [Act I, p. 321].

AUR.: . . . *for my discourse, I'll imitate the half wit and patched breeding of a valet de chambre*  
[Act II, scene 2].

The scene where the two couples meet for the first time in the garden contains verbal reflections of romantic material hardly consonant with Dryden's general tone:

LIS.: Pisa quedo; que, aunque está  
Su hermano fuera de casa,  
Lisarda no duerme.

JUAN.: Escasa  
De luz la noche, no da,  
Nise, solo un rayo.

LIS.: Ya  
En presencia de Leonor  
Será luz y resplandor  
La tiniebla oscura y fria.  
JUAN.: Dices bien; que todo es dia  
Con el sol.

LEON.: Don Juan, señor!  
JUAN.: Leonor, señora, mi bien,  
Deja, que en honestos lazos  
Supla la fe de los brazos  
Lo que los ojos no ven.

LEON.: ¿Cómo se atreviera quien  
No te estimara á una accion  
Semejante?

JUAN.: Dudas son.  
Que á tu recato prevengo,  
Y solo á pagarlas vengo  
[Act I, pp. 321-22].

*Enter AURELIAN and CAMILLO*

CAM.: I hear women's voices.

AUR.: We are right, I warrant you.

CAM.: Violetta, my love!

VIO.: My dear Camillo!

CAM.: Speak those words again; my own name never sounded so sweetly to me, as when you spoke it, and made me happy by adding dear to it.

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VIO.: Speak *softly* then; I have stolen these few minutes from my watchful uncle and my sister, and they are as full of danger as they are of love. Something within me checks me too, and says, I was too forward in venturing thus to meet you.

CAM.: You are too fearful rather; and fear's the great enemy to love.

VIO.: But night will hide my blushes, when I tell you, *I love you much, or I had never trusted my virtue and my person in your hands.*

CAM.: The one is sacred, and the other safe; but this auspicious minute is our first of near converse. *May I not hope that favour, which strangers, in civility, may claim, even from the most reserved?* [*Kisses her hand*] [Act II, scene 3].

Part of the romantic passage mentioned by Allen<sup>10</sup> touches at two points, and is much in the tone of, Calderon's corresponding passage.

JUAN.: ... ahora  
Que duerme la blanca aurora  
En lecho de rosicler,  
O Leonor, quisiera ser  
De toda esa esfera dueño,  
Ó con el opio y beleño,  
Que de el monte de la luna,  
Infundir en la fortuna  
Del orbe silencio y sueño.  
LEON.: Aunque en mi mano tuviera  
El órden del cielo yo,  
Hoy el curso del sol no  
Parara ni detuviera,  
Antes mas prisa le diera,  
Por sentir el verte ausente;  
Que quien ama firmemente,  
Don Juan, que trocara, sé,  
Las glorias de lo que vé  
A penas de lo que siente

[Act I, p. 322].

CAM.: Then feast my love with a more solid diet.

He makes us now a miser's feast, and we  
Forbear to take our fill. The silent night,

And all these downy hours, were made  
for lovers:

Gently they tread, and softly measure  
time,

That no rude noise may fright the tender  
maid,

From giving all her soul to melting joys.

VIO.: You do not love me; if you did, you  
would not

Thus urge your satisfaction to my  
shame;

At best, I see you would not love me  
long,

For they, who plunder, do not mean to  
stay [Act II, scene 3].

Next day, Lisarda is in a mood combining melancholy and disgust with herself for falling in love with the voice and wit of a servant. Leonor says to her:

¡Notable *melancolía*  
Es la tuya! ¡No pudiera,  
Para ayudarte á sentirla,  
Tener parte en tus tristezas?  
[Act III, p. 323].

Dryden transfers this to Camillo, who says to Aurelian:

But why thus *melancholy*, with hat  
pulled down? . . . [Act III, scene 1]

Lisarda will not tell Leonor her grief but soliloquizes a moment later, "Aun de mí tengo vergüenza" (Act II, p. 324). Aurelian, naturally less reserved, tells Camillo, "Faith, Camillo, I am ashamed of it, but cannot help it" (Act III, scene 1).

Lisarda's argument with herself includes a description of the servingman, which Dryden adapts to changed sex and Restoration language:

LIS.: . . .  
¿A un hombre (aquí me suspende  
Segunda vez la vergüenza)  
De humilde estado, de poca  
Estimacion y de prendas  
Tan bajas, pudo el oído  
Tanto, que la voz sujeta  
Y el pecho, que ha sido el centro

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 175-76.

De altivez y de soberbia?  
 ¿Yo, cielos, yo á una pasión  
 Tan rendida y tan resuelta,  
 Que me desvele un criado?  
 Un pícaro? ... [Act II, p. 324].

CAM.: But to be in love with a waitingwoman!  
 with an eater of fragments, a simperer  
 at lower end of a table, with mighty  
 golls, rough-grained, and red with  
 starching, those discouragers and abat-  
 ers of elevated love! [Act III, scene 1].

In the same scene, Lisarda expresses a  
 favorite Spanish comedy theme—how one  
 may fall in love through the eyes or  
 through the ears—that is, with either  
 beauty or wit. Aurelian says: "... I dote  
 on Laura's beauty, and on Beatrix's wit"  
 (Act II, scene 1).

Lisarda's soliloquy reveals that, to cure  
 herself of this madness, she has asked the  
 servant to see her the next day:

Con esta  
 Intencion le dije anoche,  
 Que á verme á estas horas venga ...  
 [Act II, p. 324].

Dryden modifies this well—when Vio-  
 letta tells Laura she has heard that Benito  
 is a coxcomb:

LAU.: They, who told you so, were horribly  
 mistaken. You shall be judge yourself, Vio-  
 letta; for to confess frankly to you, I have  
 made him a kind of an appointment.

VIO.: How! have you made an assignation  
 to Benito? A serving-man! a trencher-carrying  
 rascal!

LAU.: Good words, Violetta! I only sent to  
 him from an unknown lady near this chapel,  
 that I might view him in passing by, and see  
 if his person were answerable to his conversa-  
 tion [Act III, scene 1].

Laura's reactions on seeing the real  
 servant follow two speeches of Lisarda:

*En esto el remedio hallo; [aparte]*  
 Que no hay cosa que aborrezca  
 Mas, que á este hombre, si le miro  
 [Act II, p. 325].

Qué mal talle! *Pues la cara, [aparte]*  
*Qué fealdad!* [Act II, p. 325].

LAU.: He has the most unpromising face, for a  
 wit, I ever saw; and yet he had need  
 have a very good one, to make amends  
 for his face. *I am half cured of him al-*  
*ready* [Act III, scene 1].

VIO.: Sister, look to yourself, my uncle is re-  
 turning.

LAU.: I am glad on't: He has done my busi-  
 ness: *He has absolutely cured me* ...  
 [Act III, scene 1].

Finally, when the second night's meet-  
 ing is interrupted by the arrival of the  
 brother (by Benito's blundering, in Dry-  
 den):

JUAN.: Qué he de hacer?

LIS.: Arrojaos presto  
 Por las tapias; que nosotras  
 Seguras quedamos.

JUAN.: Celio,  
 Ven tras mí.

OCTA.: Si, antes que lleguen,  
*Saltar las tapias podemos,*  
 Será mejor [Act II, p. 329].

LUC.: You cannot go by the gate, then.  
 Ah me, unfortunate!

CAM.: *But over the wall you may* ... [Act IV,  
 scene 6].

This new evidence contributes material-  
 ly to our judgment of Dryden's originality  
 in *The assignation*. For the second plot he  
 borrowed not only the general action but  
 also most of the details in its development,  
 as well as suggestions for the fundamental  
 traits of one of the characters. More, we  
 can picture him writing this part of the  
 play with *Con quien vengo vengo* open be-  
 fore him, adapting or actually translating  
 such of the Spanish speech as seemed use-  
 ful, and even at times—perhaps through  
 carelessness—letting slip in a bit of the  
 (for his play) incongruous romantic tone  
 of the original.

One point more needs brief comment.  
 Allen says: "... *The Assignation* ...

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<sup>11</sup> Pp.  
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like *The Mock Astrologer* . . . has several different elements, which were not well combined," and ". . . *The Assignment* . . . is like *The Mock Astrologer* in being made of varied and uncongenial elements."<sup>11</sup>

In both these plays we have intrigues of Spanish origin.<sup>12</sup> However, the "uncon-

genial elements"—which do not materially affect the plot—of *The mock astrologer* are imported from the French; actually, the central plot, which is Spanish, unifies with Dryden's English additions. The difference between the essential plot unity of *The mock astrologer* and the duality of plot in *The assignment* springs chiefly from a difference between the structures of the Spanish intrigues which Dryden used. A comparison of Dryden's attempts to handle the two distinct types of intrigue lies without the scope of the present paper.

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<sup>11</sup> Pp. 171, 190.

<sup>12</sup> Allen doubts Dryden's own statement in the preface to *An evening's love; or the mock astrologer* that he had read Calderon's *El Astrologo fingido*. Apparently Allen had not compared the English and Spanish plays carefully; otherwise, he would have known that Dryden includes in *The mock astrologer* two passages from *El Astrologo fingido* which do not appear at all in Thomas Cornelle's *Le feint astrologue*, Dryden's chief source for the action. Allen's conclusion that "it seems quite possible that he [Dryden] was unable to translate Spanish well enough to use Spanish sources" (pp. 5-6 n.) is refuted by a careful study of the very two plays in connection with which he makes the as-

sertion. At a later date I shall present a detailed study of the sources of Dryden's *Mock astrologer*. Naturally, with the discovery treated in the present paper, we now have every reason to believe Dryden when he speaks of reading Spanish.



## DRYDEN'S DISCOVERY OF BOILEAU

FRANK LIVINGSTONE HUNTLEY

THE apogee of Boileau's critical thought came in his *Art poétique* (1674), which was not published until Dryden had already been feeling out for himself a criticism adumbrated in his *Essay of dramatic poesy* (1668).<sup>1</sup> Dryden's first reference to Boileau occurs in his "Apology for heroic poetry and poetic licence," prefixed to *The state of innocence and fall of man, an opera*. This work, though registered in 1674, was not published until 1677.<sup>2</sup> A. F. B. Clark asserts that the "Apology," with its "belittling of common sense," goes exactly counter to the tenets of Boileau.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to show that Dryden found in one volume published by Boileau valuable corroboration for both halves of a dichotomy that he had been developing from his earliest essays and also that Clark's interpretation is not entirely true. Part of the proof must be an analysis of Dryden's argument.

Dryden's immediate problem in the "Apology" is to defend his *State of in-*

<sup>1</sup> In the "definition" of a "play" in *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker (2 vols.; Oxford, 1926), I, 36: a play ought to be a *just and lively image of human nature*, etc. Hereafter references to Dryden's "Apology" will be to the first volume of this edition, by page and line numbers, and will be incorporated in my text.

<sup>2</sup> It was registered at Stationers' Hall on April 17, 1674 (cf. Eyre and Rivington, *Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708 A.D.* (London, 1913-14), II, 479). For a long time this opera was thought to have been published in the same year. G. B. Churchill, however, corrected this error in "The relationship of Dryden's *State of innocence* to Milton's *Paradise lost* and Wycherley's *Plain dealer*: an inquiry into dates," *MP*, IV (1906), 381-88. It is generally agreed now that the first edition of *The state of innocence* is that of 1677. The question of the date of the composition of this preface is not yet settled, but the problem is one for another paper.

<sup>3</sup> *Boileau and the French classical critics in England* (Paris, 1925), p. 6.

*nocence* against certain criticisms of its high-flown style and "impossible" machinery; but his ultimate problem is a double one—the poet's and the critic's. On the one hand, his opera is a conscious imitation of Milton. As his title indicates, the creator of "heroic poetry" who seeks to adapt words to its high thoughts should, within the limits of discretion, be granted the "poetic licence" implied in bold metaphors. The poetic faculty involves both invention and judgment. On the other hand, the critic should be more than a faultfinder and should teach himself to judge well. Only "hypercritics" would censure Milton for drawing upon the *merveilleux* or Dryden for confusing angels and anchovies (188:8). Real critics would ask themselves, instead, whether Milton's poem gives universal pleasure because the thought is appropriate to the whole design and whether Dryden's images give universal pleasure because they are appropriate to Dryden's imitation of that design (179:16-26). For what, asks Dryden at the end of his discourse, does this poetic faculty seek if not the elegant adaptation of thoughts and words to the subject (190:15-16)?

It becomes Dryden, therefore, at the beginning of his argument to distinguish between poetic *lapsus calami* and poetic license. The one depends upon fervor, upon the poet's fertility and boldness in writing; the other depends upon his conscious adaptation of words to thought and is a product of judgment. The first is an accident and can be excused; the other is design and must be praised. It is in Longinus that Dryden (179:34-180:35)

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finds the best description of the poet's fervor which may excuse lapses of the pen and occasionally too bold an expression, as we shall see when we examine the sources of his thinking.

But real poetic license, as positive as the lapses are negative, is that which allows the poet to adapt his expression to his subject matter. This, in turn, depends upon the kind of poem he is writing—in this case, heroic poetry. Were the fault-finding critics of Dryden's poem conscious of the prestige of epic in the history of poetry, they would try more to perceive its beauties. For evidence of this high place which epic holds among the genres of poetry, Dryden could cite all the Italian commentators on Aristotle's *Poetics* and, among the French of his time, significantly, Boileau and Rapin (181:24-26). The inference is that he who does not perceive the delight and instruction of the whole should not take exception to its parts (182:31-32), particularly its metaphors and machines. Dryden sets out to show his detractors "that the boldest strokes of poetry, when they are managed artfully, are those which most delight the reader" (183:2-4). Figures of speech, then, are not to be avoided, but, first found by the poet's fervor and then used judiciously within his poem, they become as necessary in poetry "as heightenings and shadows in painting" (184:9-10).<sup>4</sup>

Throughout Dryden's citations of examples from Virgil, Horace, and Cowley (184:12 ff.), the term "boldness," which we can assume Dryden to have taken from Longinus' account of the poetic mind, is only half of the "elegant adaptation." The other half is discretion or judgment. It requires sublimity of genius and judg-

ment, soul and reason, to hit upon suitable metaphors, i.e., to relate words and thoughts to each other and both to the subject. The opposite, stylistically, is "fustian" (186:17).<sup>5</sup>

Just where the line is to be drawn in this "elegant adaptation" is difficult for Dryden to say, as he himself admits (189:11). But he would insist on national differences and the genius of the age: "it is certain that . . . [these liberties] are to be varied, according to the language and age in which an author writes" (189:13-14). With Martial's tag in mind (189:15)—"Nobis non licet esse tam disertis, Qui Musas colimus severiores"<sup>6</sup>—Dryden is not inconsistent with the position he gave to Neander when defending rhyme in *An essay of dramatic poesy* (103:9). His point is that heroic poetry and poetic license are inseparable (cf. 188:27). Given a noble subject matter, hyperbolic style is not only "lively" but also "just."

He is ready, then, to conclude what he has proved:

. . . the definition of Wit (which has been so often attempted, and ever unsuccessfully by many poets) is only this: that it is a propriety of thoughts and words; or, in other terms, thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject [190:12-16].

So much for Dryden's argument. As for its sources, it is more important to fix upon his use of ideas for such an argument than merely to discover verbal parallels. No truer words have been spoken of Dryden and his treatment of sources than

<sup>4</sup> The contradictory term to "language elegantly adapted to the subject" is, for Dryden, this metaphor of long standing borrowed from the draper's trade, as the metaphors "fabric" and "woven" are also applied to poetry (cf. *NED*). Cf. the use of the term in a context in which Dryden is evidently recalling his definition of wit: "I am much deceived if this be not abominable fustian, that is, thoughts and words ill-sorted, and without the least relation to each other" (247:20-22).

<sup>5</sup> Martial *Satires* ix. 12; cf. Ker, I, 315, notes.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Samuel H. Monk, *The sublime: a study of critical theories in XVIII-century England* (New York, 1935), p. 43: Dryden's "concern . . . is almost wholly with the sublime style as the most expressive vehicle for the passions."

those of his contemporary, Langbaine. This inveterate and somewhat spiteful source-hunter had to confess that, though he was sure Dryden had "stolen," yet Dryden could "conceal what he had borrow'd" far better than Jonson could.<sup>7</sup>

The principles of Dryden's thinking here, particularly those of *inventio* and *elocutio*, stem once more from the rhetorical principles of Horace and Quintilian. But in this essay Dryden has used new reading to implement the solution to his problem, Longinus' *On the sublime*.

As many have already noted,<sup>8</sup> this first

I could, says my author, find out some blemishes in Homer; and am perhaps as naturally inclined to be disgusted at a fault as another man; but, after all, to speak impartially, his failings are such, as are only marks of human frailty: they are little mistakes, or rather negligences, which have escaped his pen in the fervour of his writing; the sublimity of his spirit carries it with me against his carelessness; and though Apollonius his *Argonauts*, and Theocritus his *Eidyllia*, are more free from errors, there is not any man of so false a judgment, who would choose rather to have been Apollonius or Theocritus than Homer [180:23-35].

This new reading from Longinus in Boileau's French version supplies, however, only part of Dryden's solution: it offers precedent for excusing lapses due to

<sup>7</sup> *An account of the English dramatick poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Ker, I, 314, notes; G. R. Noyes, *Selected dramas of John Dryden* (Chicago and New York, 1910), introd., p. xi; Clark, p. 370, etc. P. S. Havens ("Dryden's 'tagged' version of *Paradise lost*," *Essays in dramatic literature: the Parrott presentation volume* [Princeton, 1935], p. 397) finds Dryden comparing himself in this passage from Boileau's *Longin* as the man of competence to Milton as the man of genius. Havens does not inquire into the function of this quotation in Dryden's preface. No one, so far as I am aware, has suggested that Dryden at this time was reading the *Art poétique* as well as the *Longin*.

quotation of Longinus by Dryden comes not from the original *Peri Hupsos* (whose title Dryden employs in Greek [180:1]) but from Boileau's French redaction. The most obvious proof of this is Dryden's reference to chapter 27 (179:35—180:1). The passage occurs in chapter 33 in the original<sup>9</sup> and in chapter 27 only in Boileau's version. Furthermore, a careful comparison of Dryden and Boileau shows undeniably that Dryden was translating from Boileau's *Longin*, chapter 27: «Si l'on doit préférer le Médiocre parfait au Sublime qui a quelques défauts»:

Mais bien que j'aye remarqué plusieurs fautes dans Homère, & dans tous les plus célèbres Auteurs, & que je sois peut-estre l'homme du monde à qui elles plaisent le moins; j'estime après tout que ce sont des fautes dont ils ne se sont pas souciez, & qu'on ne peut appeller proprement fautes, mais qu'on doit simplement regarder comme des méprises & de petites négligences qui leur sont échappées: parceque leur esprit qui ne s'étudioit qu'au Grand, ne pouvait pas s'arrester aux petites choses. En un mot, je maintiens que le Sublime, bien qu'il ne se soutienne pas également par tout, quand ce ne seroit qu'à cause de sa grandeur l'emporte sur tout le reste ... [he mentions Apollonius and Theocritus]. Cependant aimeriez-vous mieux estre Apollonius ou Théocrite, qu'Homère?<sup>10</sup>

*furor poeticus*, which is not what Dryden means by "poetic licence." How does Dryden buttress the solution to the other part of his problem—the critic's; and the other part of his elegant adaptation—discretion, judgment in the poet, and, in the audience, the appeal to man's common sense?

The quotations he makes from Boi-

<sup>9</sup> Trans. by W. H. Fyfe, *Aristotle, the Poetics; Longinus, On the sublime; Demetrius, On style* ("Loeb Classical library" [London and New York, 1932]), p. 219.

<sup>10</sup> «Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux.» *Œuvres diverses du Sieur D[espréaux]* (Paris, 1685), pp. 99–100.

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leau's *Longin* suggest the hypothesis; this preface also marks Dryden's first meeting with Boileau's *Art poétique*.

For one thing, the probabilities are high that he had Boileau's *Art poétique* before him when he wrote. If it is true that he came upon Longinus through Boileau's translation, then it is equally true that at whatever time he wrote this preface—that is, between 1674 (its registration date) and 1677 (its publication date)—in the same volume from which he took the French Longinus he had before him Boileau's *Art poétique*. The two pieces first appeared simultaneously on July 10, 1674, in the *Œuvres diverses du Sieur D.*,<sup>11</sup> and the two texts were not separated bibliographically either in the five editions of 1674 or in the five editions of 1675. There was no new edition in 1676; and only one in 1677, published in Amsterdam, with the same makeup.<sup>12</sup> It is barely possible that, at the time of writing, Dryden had only that section of this book which contained the *Longin*, but the burden of proof for this proposition must devolve upon its contender.<sup>13</sup>

With both the *Longin* and the *Art poétique* probably before him, then, Dryden asserts in this essay that Boileau and

Rapin are among the greatest critics of this age in France (181:25–26). Rapin, whose *Réflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote et sur les ouvrages des poètes anciens et modernes* was likewise published in 1674, “is alone sufficient, were all other critics lost, to teach anew the rules of writing” (181:26–27). Yet “how to write” is subordinated in this essay to “how to judge,” since Dryden is contending against “illiterate, censorious” critics of his style. For this part of his problem, of the two contemporary French critics whom he mentions in the text, is it not Boileau—and the Boileau of the *Art poétique*—who is the more significant? In this context Dryden mentions Boileau without the title, yet he is obviously thinking of Boileau not as a satirist or as a translator of Longinus but as a critic. Also, when in this preface he did depend upon Boileau's *Longin*, he made no effort to identify his contemporary French source.

Because of these facts it is obviously necessary to examine the general and specific similarities between Dryden's “Apology” and Boileau's *Art poétique*. Dryden enjoys the same advantage Boileau enjoyed, that of being both poet and critic, even though as poet he had reason to feel superior. Both the “Apology” and the *Art poétique* assume a public in which there are hostile critics. Like Boileau, Dryden opposes the broad universal understanding of the many to the individual judgment of the few.<sup>14</sup> *Bon sens* has come to be a universal criterion of the true and good,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. E. Magne, *Bibliographie générale des œuvres de Boileau* (Paris, 1929), I, 217–27. The first edition, a quarto, is Magne's No. 245. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 226, n. 12: “On y [i.e., in this first edition] trouve, pour la première fois publiés, la Préface générale, l'Art poétique, les 4 premiers chants du Lutrin, précédés d'un Avis, la traduction du Traité du Sublime, sa Préface et les Remarques de Boileau.” The dating comes from the *Privilege* (Magne, I, 221) of March 28, 1674, and the date of actual publication on the *Privilege* page: July 10, 1674.

<sup>12</sup> Magne's No. 255.

<sup>13</sup> No extant copy of this book exists as having definitely belonged to Dryden (cf. James M. Osborn, “Books from Dryden's library,” in his *John Dryden: some biographical facts and problems* [New York, 1940], pp. 225–34). Three years after the publication of this essay, Dryden and Soames were working on the English translation of Boileau's *Art poétique*; cf. the note which Tonson printed in the 1708 edition of Soames's translation, quoted by Hugh Macdonald, *John Dryden: a bibliography of early editions and of Drydeniana* (Oxford, 1939), p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> The evidence in this essay of a preference for “what oft was thought” over the private opinion of the few is not inconsistent with L. I. Bredvold's tracing of Dryden's skepticism before the *Religio laici* (cf. *The intellectual milieu of John Dryden* [“University of Michigan publications in language and literature,” Vol. XII (Ann Arbor, 1934)], pp. 110–15, 122–25). It is corroborated by Bonamy Dobrée's comparison between Milton as the Protestant champion of reason and Dryden as the ultimately Catholic distruster of private reason (cf. “Milton and Dryden: a comparison and contrast in poetic ideas and method,” *ELH*, III [1936], 83–100, esp. 92 ff.).

shared by everyone alike but perfected by the poet and the critic. Against this universal tradition, a few carping critics presumptuously stand. These ignorant men have no stake in the universal *savoir, lecture*. Dryden writes:

They, who would combat general authority with particular opinion, must first establish themselves a reputation of understanding better than other men. Are all the flights of Heroic Poetry to be concluded bombast, unnatural, and mere madness, because they are not affected with their excellencies [182:16-21]?

Typical of Boileau's contempt for such false critics is this:

Je vous l'ai déjà dit, aimez qu'on vous censure,  
Et, souple à la raison, corrigez sans murmure.  
Mais ne vous rendez pas dès qu'un sot vous reprend.

Souvent dans son orgueil un subtil ignorant  
Par d'injustes dégoûts combat toute une pièce,

Blâme des plus beaux vers la noble hardiesse.<sup>15</sup>

More specifically, both critics think in terms of ends and means. The end of delight, in the sense of a general concernment of the passions, is more important than that of instruction. For means, both critics are preoccupied with poetic genres, Dryden limiting himself here to the genre of heroic poetry. As the subject matter pertains to epic alone, again the two writers are similar: Boileau places greatest emphasis upon *ornements* (i.e., machines, Dryden's "poetical fictions"), and

he mentions the *figures sans nombre*.<sup>16</sup> Dryden limits himself to these two elements of epic as "thoughts and words," which must be "elegantly adapted"<sup>17</sup> to the subject. He reverses the order and gives more emphasis to words than to thoughts because the main difference between his poem and Milton's is linguistic—the "foundation, part of the design, and many of the ornaments" (178:19-20) having been taken from *Paradise lost*.

In defending his "tagged" version of Milton's poem, Dryden could not entirely escape the problem of machines. And, though the mixing of pagan and Christian machines in epic was an ancient critical battleground, it is quite possible that he is here partially answering a passage in Boileau's *Art poétique*<sup>18</sup> which seemed to strike against Milton's whole argument as well as his own. The passage ends:

Et quel objet enfin à présenter aux yeux  
Que le diable toujours hurlant contre les cieus,  
Qui de votre héros veut rabaisser la gloire,  
Et souvent avec Dieu balance la victoire!

It is directly after this passage that Boileau brings in Tasso's practice:

Le Tasse, dira-t-on, l'a fait avec succès.  
Je ne veux point ici lui faire son procès,  
Mais, quoi que notre siècle à sa gloire publie,  
Il n'eût point de son livre illustré l'Italie,  
Si son sage héros, toujours en oraison,  
N'eût fait que mettre enfin Satan à la raison,  
Et si Renaud, Argant, Tancrède et sa mal-tresse  
N'eussent de son sujet égayé la tristesse.

Dryden asserts that Horace would not have taxed Milton for his choice of a supernatural argument but only, had Milton

<sup>15</sup> *Art poétique*, IV, 59-64. Soames and Dryden were to render this passage (A. S. Cook [ed.], *The art of poetry: the poetical treatises of Horace, Vida, and Boileau* [New York, 1926], p. 212):

"I've said before, be patient when they blame;  
To alter for the better is no shame.  
Yet yield not to a fool's impertinence:  
Sometimes conceited sceptics, void of sense,  
By their false taste condemn some finished part,  
And blame the noblest flights of wit and art.  
In vain their fond opinions you deride,  
With their loved follies they are satisfied,  
And their weak judgment, void of sense and light,  
Thinks nothing can escape their feeble sight."

<sup>16</sup> *Art poétique*, III, 287.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Dryden's use of "elegantly" and Boileau (*Art poétique*, III, 258-59), apropos of style in epic: "Soyez riche et pompeux dans vos descriptions, / C'est là qu'il faut des vers étaler l'élegance." The term *pompeux*, of course, has no pejorative sense here.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 193-208.



done so, for mixing Christian and heathen gods in one poem (190:3-5) "as Tasso is condemned by Rapin on the like occasion" (190:6-7). Rapin does not condemn Tasso;<sup>19</sup> but, in the lines last quoted from the *Art poétique*, Boileau does. Many years later, as though this passage had stuck in Dryden's memory in connection with his veneration for Milton, Dryden contended at length against this very doctrine of Boileau's when he wrote his *Discourse on satire* (1693).<sup>20</sup>

Dryden's "Apology" and Boileau's critical poem, then, possess a common problem, the common point of view of universal *bon sens* against the private bias of the few, a preoccupation with genres, and, in the genre of epic, an emphasis upon words and thoughts, figures and machines. These likenesses are only general, it is true. Yet Dryden's argument for reconciling words and thoughts to each other and to heroic subject matter by imagination and reason and his appeal to the *consensus gentium* is not Longinian, and it goes beyond Horace. In view of the fact that he mentions Boileau here for the first time, in a context of critics, and in view of

the fact that he quotes at length from the very volume in which the *Art poétique* appeared with the *Longin*, one may reasonably infer that, for this preface published in 1677, Dryden found in Boileau's *Art poétique* a corroboration of his own critical opinion. Though he differed in details, he must have felt his own critical genius drawn far closer to that of Boileau than to that of Rapin.

It was accidental that Dryden, finally, should have come across in a single volume by an eminent Frenchman so significant an illustration of his consistently held belief that a poem is both a "lively" and a "just" image of human nature (36:5-8). Though Longinus himself would insist that there is an art of the sublime, which parallels the *bon sens* of his French redactor, the emphasis which Boileau gives and which Dryden catches is placed not so much upon this element as upon the strong emotional effect of the sublime in thought apart from rhetoric. From this point of view it may be said that in this preface by Dryden the *Longin* inspired the soul and the *Art poétique* the brain of the poet-critic. Dryden had never separated them.

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<sup>19</sup> Ker, I, 315-16, notes.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 31-33.

## STENDHAL ET PINEL

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**V**ERS le début de 1806, Henri Beyle poursuivait ses études idéologiques. Il connaissait déjà Helvétius, Lancelin, Destutt de Tracy, Maine de Biran et Cabanis quand une référence ou une remarque quelconque attira son attention sur un autre idéologue, le Dr Ph. Pinel, auteur d'un traité sur l'aliénation mentale.<sup>1</sup>

Le livre de ce pionnier dans le domaine des maladies mentales renfermait non seulement des aperçus originaux sur le cœur et l'esprit humains, mais il était écrit sous la forme d'un traité idéologique. Comme il le dit lui-même dans son Introduction, Pinel, en étudiant la manie, se proposait d'écarter toutes les discussions métaphysiques et de se guider d'après la marche suivie dans toutes les parties de l'histoire naturelle.<sup>2</sup> La manie a presque toujours une cause morale et ce sont le plus souvent les passions violentes et trompées qui la provoquent. Il faut donc étudier l'origine, le développement et les effets des passions humaines sur l'économie animale.<sup>3</sup> Sa méthode, ajoute-t-il, consiste dans l'observation, dans l'emploi d'un langage aphoristique et dans les classifications scientifiques.<sup>4</sup> Partout, dans son *Traité*, Pinel s'en tient, en effet, à l'observation des faits bien constatés.<sup>5</sup> Il les décrit, il rapproche ceux qui sont analogues, il les classe et il en tire certaines conséquences. Ce sont de véritables cas qu'il examine et dont il raconte l'histoire.

<sup>1</sup> Ph. Pinel, *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale, ou la manie* (Paris: Richard, Caille et Ravier, an IX—1801). Sauf indication contraire, toutes nos références renvoient à cette édition.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. liv-lv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxj-xxlj.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

Enfin, il emploie autant que possible la terminologie idéologique.<sup>6</sup> En un mot, médecin-idéologue comme Cabanis,<sup>7</sup> Pinel applique la méthode analytique à l'étude de l'aliénation mentale.

Il n'est donc pas étonnant que Beyle, qui s'intéressait si vivement à la peinture des passions et à l'idéologie, ait lu le *Traité* de Pinel et l'ait mis à contribution.<sup>8</sup> Nous tâcherons de faire ressortir la nature ainsi que la portée de cette influence.<sup>9</sup>

C'est apparemment le 24 janvier 1805 que Beyle commence à s'intéresser au livre de Pinel: «Je vais à l'école de Médecine, à dix heures, pour lire l'*Aliénation mentale* de Pinel: la bibliothèque est fermée.»<sup>10</sup> Mais d'autres soins et d'autres lectures réclament sans doute son attention et son temps, car ce n'est qu'un an après, jour pour jour, que le nom de Pinel reparaît dans ses écrits. Beyle recommande alors à sa sœur Pauline de remettre dix francs au libraire Falcon pour la *Logique* de Destutt de Tracy et il ajoute: «Si tu as six francs de plus, demande lui *De la Manie*, par Ph.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fr. Picavet, *Les Idéologues* (Paris: Alcan, 1891), pp. 173-74.

<sup>8</sup> M. Paul Arbelet a signalé quelques emprunts que Beyle a faits à Pinel (*L'Histoire de la peinture en Italie et les plagiais de Stendhal* [Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1913], pp. 270-71). M. Henri Delacroix ne mentionne même pas l'auteur de la *Manie* (cf. *La Psychologie de Stendhal* [Paris: Alcan, 1918]).

<sup>9</sup> Indépendamment de cette étude, que nous avons entreprise il y a de longues années, M. Robert Vigneron, dans ses séminaires à l'Université de Chicago, s'est intéressé à la question de l'influence de Pinel sur Stendhal et l'a assignée, comme sujet de travail scolaire, à plusieurs de ses élèves.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal*, éd. H. Debraye et L. Royer (Paris: Champion, 1923-34), I, 246.

Pinel.<sup>11</sup> A partir de cette date-là, et pendant une période assez longue, des allusions à Pinel reparaîtront régulièrement dans les écrits du jeune idéologue. Ainsi, dans une autre lettre datée du 26 janvier, la *Manie* figure dans une liste de livres que Beyle conseille à Pauline de consulter,<sup>12</sup> et il prêche d'exemple, comme l'atteste la remarque suivante, insérée dans son *Journal* à la date du 28 janvier: «J'ai observé hier soir les orages des passions, que les grandes passions ne peuvent se guérir que par les moyens qu'indique Ph. Pinel dans la *Manie*, que les femmes froides comme Mme Cossonier peuvent désirer les grandes passions comme les réveillant de leur ennui; mais qu'elles sont le tourment des âmes sensibles.»<sup>13</sup> Le chapitre de la *Manie* intitulé «Art de contrebalancer les passions humaines les unes par les autres, partie importante de la médecine», semble être la source de la remarque de Beyle. Pinel y soutient que le principe de la philosophie morale qui enseigne à opposer les passions les unes aux autres et non pas à les détruire est encore plus utile en médecine qu'en politique. La raison en est que la médecine considère l'homme en lui-même et indépendamment des institutions sociales. Elle voit que le seul remède est de ne point contrarier les penchants de la nature ou de les contrebalancer par des affections plus puissantes. Et Pinel cite plusieurs cas qui servent à confirmer ce point de vue. C'est de la jouissance qu'il faut à un jeune homme tombé dans la mélancolie par les contrariétés d'un amour malheureux. Un homme en place qui est privé de son emploi et un jeune soldat dont le mérite reste méconnu deviennent mélancoliques. Il eût été possible de les guérir en découvrant un moyen quelcon-

que de satisfaire leur ambition. Dans tous ces cas, il faut savoir remonter à la source du mal avant d'avoir recours aux remèdes.<sup>14</sup> Quelquefois une circonstance favorable peut faire naître une passion nouvelle et guérir la mélancolie. Un riche négociant éprouve des revers faciles à réparer, mais son imagination en est si vivement frappée que l'idée qu'il est ruiné devient dominante. Il vient à s'intéresser à la religion, se livre nuit et jour au travail et finit par être entièrement guéri.<sup>15</sup> Ce sont apparemment là les moyens de guérir les grandes passions auxquels Beyle fait allusion.

Quant aux tourments dont souffrent les âmes sensibles en proie aux grandes passions, Beyle les a peut-être éprouvés lui-même lors de son amour malheureux pour Victorine Mounier. Mais il se peut bien qu'il s'inspire aussi d'un passage de la *Manie*, où Pinel décrit d'une façon si touchante les mélancoliques «qui animent et charment la société par leurs affections vives et concentrées, et par tous les mouvemens d'une âme forte et passionnée; [et qui] ne sont que trop habiles à faire leur propre tourment et celui de tout ce qui les approche, par leurs ombrages et leurs soupçons chimériques».<sup>16</sup>

Toujours à la recherche du bonheur et des moyens d'y parvenir, et désireux de communiquer ses découvertes à son élève de prédilection, le 30 janvier Beyle écrit encore à Pauline pour lui demander des nouvelles de Caroline, cette sœur cadette qu'il s'efforce alors de tirer de «l'apathie provinciale». Il se rend évidemment compte de la difficulté de la tâche car,

<sup>11</sup> *La Manie*, pp. 237-39. Le docteur Pinel a reconnu bien avant les psychologues modernes l'importance de la psychanalyse. Le difficile, dit-il, est de découvrir une affection concentrée sur laquelle le malade cherche à donner le change. Les affections spasmodiques résultent presque toujours de quelque passion cachée (cf. *ibid.*, p. 238).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>14</sup> *Correspondance*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Le Divan, 1933-34), II, 112.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> *Journal*, II, 224.

dit-il, «ce sont de nouvelles habitudes à former», et il ajoute que Pauline reconnaîtra «la vérité de ce principe» en lisant la *Manie*.<sup>17</sup> Bien que Pinel ne consacre pas un chapitre particulier à l'examen de ce principe, tout son livre en est, pour ainsi dire, la confirmation. D'ailleurs, plusieurs parties de la *Manie* renferment des passages où il s'agit incidemment de l'habitude. Il décrit, par exemple, le cas d'un jeune ambitieux qui, pour réussir, suit un régime si sévère au physique et au moral qu'il perd la santé et finit par devenir hypocondriaque. Le médecin-philanthrope le conjure de changer sa manière de vivre, mais le jeune homme poursuit toujours son plan avec l'obstination la plus inflexible.<sup>18</sup> Pinel raconte aussi l'histoire d'un jeune noble qui prend l'habitude de se livrer à tous ses caprices: ce penchant se fortifie chez lui avec l'âge, et dans un de ses emportements il va jusqu'à commettre un crime.<sup>19</sup> Pinel dit encore que c'est dans l'extrême intensité d'une idée exclusive et qui absorbe toutes les facultés de l'entendement que consiste la mélancolie et voilà pourquoi il est si difficile de la détruire. Une occupation active peut faire diversion aux idées tristes des mélancoliques, ou même changer leur enchaînement vicieux, mais il est très difficile de prévenir leurs rechutes.<sup>20</sup> Tous ces cas, ainsi que les conséquences que le médecin-aliéniste en tire, servent à faire sentir la difficulté de déraciner certaines habitudes et d'en prendre de nouvelles. Beyle ne fait donc qu'appliquer à un cas particulier les principes qu'il a puisés chez Pinel.

Du 4 au 22 mars 1806, il continue à parcourir la *Manie*<sup>21</sup> et comme d'ordinaire

il note les idées et les passages qui le frappent. Par exemple, sur le cahier qui contient le *Journal* de sa vie—du 28 juillet 1805 au 15 avril 1806—il trace les lignes suivantes: «Sobriété extrême pour donner plus d'essor à ses facultés morales: Pinel, 54.»<sup>22</sup> Cette citation se trouve effectivement à l'endroit indiqué du livre de Pinel, qui raconte comment un jeune étudiant devient aliéné par excès de travail: «Application continuelle, vie passée dans la retraite, sobriété extrême pour donner plus d'essor à ses facultés morales, régime pythagorique, adopté dans toute la rigueur du terme.»<sup>23</sup> Ce passage semble avoir frappé Beyle sans doute parce qu'il y voyait un moyen de mieux réussir dans ses propres études, et il pense peut-être à ce précepte quand il écrit, le 22 mars, à Pauline en lui indiquant sept habitudes qu'il cherche à prendre, dont celle «de la sobriété».<sup>24</sup>

Ces extraits du *Journal* et de la *Correspondance* font voir que, pendant le début de 1806, Beyle a lu assez assidûment le *Traité* de Pinel. Il y trouve certaines idées sur les moyens de guérir les grandes passions, sur la force de l'habitude et sur le moyen de tenir son intelligence en éveil. Mais c'est surtout la méthode employée par le médecin-philosophe qui a dû frapper Beyle, qui s'est rendu compte

et dans son *Journal*, à la même date, il dresse une liste des ouvrages utiles qu'il aura lus cette année-là et il n'oublie pas d'y insérer le *Traité* de Pinel (*Journal*, II, 240). Le 22 mars il recommande à sa sœur—et cela fait la troisième fois—de se procurer le livre du célèbre aliéniste (*Correspondance*, II, 179).

<sup>17</sup> *Journal*, II, 160.

<sup>18</sup> *La Manie*, p. 54.

<sup>19</sup> *Correspondance*, II, 178. Beyle ajoute tout de suite après: «Étudier les aliments qui nous font du bien et en prendre l'habitude.» En ajoutant cette réflexion sur les aliments, Beyle s'inspire peut-être des *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* qu'il lisait alors (cf. *Journal*, I, 246-47 et 252; II, 198). Le Huitième Mémoire des *Rapports* est intitulé «De l'influence du régime sur les dispositions et sur les habitudes» (cf. Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* [Paris: Crapart, Caille et Ravier, an X—1802], II, 79-234).

<sup>17</sup> *Correspondance*, II, 126.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *La Manie*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51. Cf. aussi *ibid.*, pp. 180-83.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

<sup>21</sup> Dans une lettre datée du 4 mars il demande à Pauline si elle a lu la *Manie* (*Correspondance*, II, 150).

que la méthode idéologique pouvait être d'une grande utilité dans bien des domaines et notamment dans celui de la connaissance du cœur humain.

Après cette première prise de contact, Beyle semble avoir complètement oublié Pinel jusqu'en 1810, mais au mois de juin de cette année il se mit à lire la seconde édition de la *Manie*<sup>25</sup> de «l'excellent docteur Pinel», et, comme d'habitude, il se hâta de communiquer à Pauline un petit problème soulevé par cette lecture: «Je cherchais à discerner les cas où leur [il s'agit des aliénés] manière de porter des jugements ou, identiquement, de tirer des conséquences est fautive, de ceux où leur perception ou bien les observations desquelles ils tirent des conséquences sont fautives et de juger fou leur manière de développer les tuyaux de lunettes (Tracy, *Logique*).»<sup>26</sup> Se rappelant que Destutt de Tracy avait assimilé une série de jugements à des tuyaux de lunettes renfermés les uns dans les autres et qu'on tire successivement,<sup>27</sup> Beyle essayait

de comprendre pourquoi les aliénés font des erreurs de jugement. Cet extrait est intéressant à plus d'un titre: il montre la manière sérieuse dont Beyle médite certaines œuvres et il indique également l'effort qu'il fait pour coordonner ses connaissances. Enfin, il prouve que Beyle relisait avec beaucoup de soin le livre de Pinel qui, dans le chapitre consacré aux «lésions du jugement des aliénés», constate que souvent la faculté de juger est la même chez l'aliéné que chez l'homme doué d'un entendement sain, «mais ils ont différentes perceptions et leurs jugemens sont différens». Et il ajoute: «Qu'un aliéné juge que le gouvernement du monde est entre ses mains, que les saisons obéissent à sa voix, qu'il peut dessécher le fleuve du Gange, etc.; il juge de cette manière parce que les perceptions qui sont présentes à sa pensée le forcent à tirer de pareilles conclusions. Les erreurs de jugement ne viennent que des matériaux sur lesquels cette faculté s'exerce.»<sup>28</sup> En essayant de déterminer pourquoi les aliénés raisonnent mal, Beyle ne fait donc que suivre la route indiquée par Pinel lui-même tout en se basant, dans son enquête, sur la définition du raisonnement que donne Destutt de Tracy.

Beyle s'intéressait si bien à cette époque aux œuvres et surtout à la mé-

<sup>25</sup> *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale* (2<sup>e</sup> éd.; Paris: Brosson, 1809). Cette seconde édition de la *Manie*, que Beyle n'a consultée qu'en 1810, a été entièrement refondue par l'auteur et décrit un assez grand nombre de cas pathologiques qui ne se trouvent pas dans la première édition.

<sup>26</sup> *Correspondance*, III, 263. Lettre datée du 29 juin 1810. Le jour précédent Beyle avait exprimé la même idée et il l'avait écrite en marge d'un exemplaire de la *Manie* appartenant à la bibliothèque de son ami Louis Crozet (*Mélanges intimes et marginalia*, éd. Henri Martineau [Paris: Le Divan, 1936], I, 258). On relève encore, sur ce même exemplaire, l'annotation suivante: «Trop manger et trop peu f...» (*ibid.*, p. 257). Sans avoir sous la main le livre dont s'est servi Beyle, il est assez difficile de signaler le passage de la *Manie* qui a fait naître cette constatation, mais Beyle lisait peut-être alors le chapitre «Sur certaines causes physiques de l'aliénation mentale», où Pinel cite, parmi ces causes, «des excès de divers genres», y compris «l'extrême abus des plaisirs vénériens» ou quelquefois «un excès opposé, c'est-à-dire des penchans vivement irrités et non satisfaits...» (*Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale* [2<sup>e</sup> éd.], pp. 45-48).

<sup>27</sup> Selon Destutt de Tracy, «dans un jugement c'est le sujet qui comprend l'attribut, et... dans une série de jugemens, les différens attributs comprennent successivement celui qui les suit». Et «pour peindre

cet effet d'une manière qui tombe sous les sens», l'auteur de la *Logique* ajoute «qu'il serait... juste de comparer la succession de nos jugemens qui constitue un raisonnement à ces tuyaux de lunettes... renfermés les uns dans les autres, et que l'on en tire successivement; en sorte que toutes les fois que l'on en fait sortir un de dedans celui qui le recouvrait, il en devient une continuation, et le tuyau s'allonge d'autant. Car à chaque fois qu'on porte un nouveau jugement d'une idée, c'est-à-dire, à chaque fois que l'on voit qu'elle renferme une autre idée qu'on n'y avait pas encore remarquée, celle-ci devient un nouvel élément qui est ajouté à ceux qui composaient déjà la première, et qui en augmente le nombre» (cf. *Elémens d'idéologie*, troisième partie, *Logique* [Paris: Courcier, an XIII—1805], pp. 172-76).

<sup>28</sup> *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale* (2<sup>e</sup> éd.), pp. 95-96.



thode du médecin-idéologue que le 9 juillet il se proposait de lire la *Nosographie philosophique, ou la méthode de l'analyse appliqué à la médecine*.<sup>29</sup>

*Nosographie des passions et des états de l'âme.*

Lire les premières pages de la *Nosographie* de Pinel et faire celle dont j'ai besoin (9 juillet 1810).

Faire un journal nosographique où j'inscrirai chaque soir, à l'article *Vanité*, les traits vaniteux observés, à l'article *Avarice*, les traits d'avarice, enfin sous le titre de chaque passion, état de l'âme, etc., ce que j'aurai observé. Ces signes frapperont mon imagination et doubleront les forces de mon esprit. Je suis sujet à ne plus pouvoir suivre une idée, faute de me la rappeler sans peine, un instant après l'avoir conçue [11 juillet 1810].<sup>30</sup>

Mais ce n'est que le 13 août 1811 que Beyle commença à suivre ses propres conseils. Dans son «Renouveau d'idéologie», il renvoie, après avoir écrit le mot «Vanité» à la page 76 d'une œuvre dont il n'indique pas le titre; et après «Avarice», à «(Edges), 41».<sup>31</sup> Et le 15 août, à la fin de son petit traité idéologique, sous la rubrique, «Comptes ouverts», Beyle dresse une liste alphabétique des passions en commençant par l'ambition et l'amitié.<sup>32</sup> Mais ce beau projet,<sup>33</sup> comme bien d'autres d'ail-

<sup>29</sup> De même que Pinel groupait les maladies par classes, ordres, genres et espèces, Beyle voulait sans doute classer les passions et les états de l'âme.

<sup>30</sup> *Journal*, III, 132. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Annexes, p. 414.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 418.

<sup>33</sup> D'ailleurs l'idée de faire une liste de passions remonte au début de 1803. Celle d'insérer, sous chaque passion, un trait observé dans la nature ou dans les livres date du début de 1804. Dans une lettre écrite le 21 prairial an XII [10 juin 1804] (date proposée par M. Robert Vigneron), Beyle signale à sa sœur Pauline l'utilité de ces classifications:

«Voici un travail qui est le plus utile de tous et que je t'engage à commencer le 26 prairial: tu feras la liste des vertus et des vices et comme ceci:

Ambition.	Intrépidité.
Envie.	Patience.
Colère.	Magnanimité. (Scaevola se brûle la main. Vertot, chap. XIII, p. 512.)

Tu mettras chacun de ces noms en haut d'une grande page in-4, et tu mettras en abréviation au-

leurs, fut abandonné. Et bien que Beyle ne semble pas avoir remis la *Nosographie philosophique* à contribution, il n'oubliera pas l'auteur de la *Manie*, comme nous le verrons ci-après.

Cette étude chronologique de l'influence de Pinel sur Beyle fait ressortir le fait que ce dernier a lu la *Manie* au moins à deux reprises—au début de 1806 et vers le milieu de 1810—et qu'il y a puisé certaines idées assez importantes sur les passions et sur leur effet sur le cœur et l'esprit humains. Il est à noter aussi, à ce propos, que déjà à cette époque Beyle commençait à s'intéresser à la psychologie morbide et que c'est Pinel qui lui avait indiqué cette nouvelle voie. Enfin, le disciple des idéologues retrouvait dans la *Nosographie philosophique* ainsi que dans la *Manie* une méthode qui lui était chère: celle de l'analyse et des classifications.

C'est surtout en écrivant l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie* que Stendhal trouva l'occasion de tirer parti des idées qui lui étaient venues en lisant la *Manie*. Selon lui, ce qui distingue Léonard des autres peintres c'est «sa connaissance des faits qui lient intimement la science des passions, la science des idées, et la médecine».<sup>34</sup> Pour cet artiste incomparable, les larmes ne sont pas seulement un signe mais la marque nécessaire de la douleur

dessous le trait d'histoire en deux lignes au plus, et en citant l'endroit d'où tu le tires» (*Correspondance*, I, 184-85).

C'est Lancelin surtout qui lui avait servi de guide en l'occurrence (cf. notre article, «Stendhal et Lancelin», *Modern Philology*, XL [August, 1942], 83-84).

<sup>34</sup> Il est à noter que Pinel avait déjà dit: «Peu d'objets en médecine sont aussi féconds que la manie en points de contact nombreux, en rapprochemens nécessaires entre cette science, la philosophie morale et l'histoire de l'entendement humain» (cf. *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale* [2<sup>e</sup> éd.], p. xxij). Stendhal supprime naturellement toute mention de la manie, mais, comme Pinel, il signale les rapports entre la science des passions, l'idéologie et la médecine.

morale, et il s'est appliqué «à suivre l'effet anatomique de la douleur depuis le moment où une femme tendre reçoit la nouvelle de la mort de son amant jusqu'à celui où elle pleure».<sup>35</sup> Et Stendhal ajoute que Pinel et Cabanis sont les seuls écrivains qui se soient occupés de la science entrevue par Léonard: «Leurs ouvrages pleins du génie d'Hippocrate, c'est-à-dire de faits et de conséquences bien déduites de ces faits, ont commencé la science. Les phrases de Zimmermann et des Allemands ne peuvent qu'en donner le goût.»<sup>36</sup> Remarquons que, chez les créateurs de cette nouvelle science, ce que Stendhal admire avant tout c'est le respect pour les faits.<sup>37</sup> En attirant l'attention de ses lecteurs sur ce caractère essentiel des œuvres des médecins-idéologues et de leur devancier Hippocrate, et en louant leur méthode aux dépens de celle des Allemands, Stendhal ne fait que résumer les remarques de Pinel lui-même. Ce dernier affirme qu'en écrivain sur la manie la plupart des méde-

cins et savants se sont écartés de la vraie route de l'observation, au lieu de marcher sur les traces d'Hippocrate qui a fondé la vraie science médicale et donné l'exemple de la méthode descriptive la plus sévère. Et Pinel ajoute: «Les monographies sur l'aliénation, publiées dans la dernière moitié de ce siècle, soit en Angleterre, soit en Allemagne, n'ont guères eu d'autre avantage que celui de rapprocher des objets épars, de les étendre à l'aide de la forme scholastique, et souvent de donner lieu à quelques hypothèses brillantes.»<sup>38</sup>

Stendhal constate donc que Léonard, comme les médecins-idéologues, avait observé que les passions se manifestent par certains signes extérieurs caractéristiques et c'est cette connaissance<sup>39</sup> qui explique, au moins en partie, la maîtrise de l'auteur de la Joconde.

Afin de rendre cette observation plus

<sup>35</sup> *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, éd. Paul Arbelet (Paris: Champion, 1924), I, 245.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* Stendhal soulignera encore l'importance des faits en parlant de Gall, qui a soutenu que la force de l'esprit est toujours en raison de la masse du cerveau: «C'est aux médecins idéologues et, par conséquent, véritables admirateurs d'Hippocrate et de sa manière sévère de ne chercher la science que dans l'examen des faits, qu'il faut demander justice de tous ces jugements téméraires sur lesquels Paris voit bâtir tous les vingt ans, quelque science nouvelle. *Facta, facta, nihil praeter facta*, sera un jour l'épigraphie de tout ce qu'on écrira sur l'homme.» Et il renvoie à ce point à une note supplémentaire: «On jugera de tous ces poèmes en langue algébrique, qu'en Allemagne un pédantisme sentimental décore du nom de systèmes de philosophie, par un mot: ils ne s'accordent qu'en un point: le profond mépris pour l'empirisme. Or l'empirisme n'est autre chose que l'expérience» (cf. *ibid.*, II, 64, en note).

<sup>37</sup> Pinel ne se lasse guère d'insister sur l'importance des faits. Il dit par exemple qu'il est bien plus facile «de compiler que d'observer, de donner de vaines théories, que d'établir des faits positifs: aussi des auteurs sans nombre, tant anciens que modernes, se sont acquittés dignement de cette tâche, et on a écrit sans cesse sur la manie, pour ne se livrer qu'à de vaines répétitions et au stérile langage des écoles» (cf. *La Manie*, pp. 8-9; cf. aussi *ibid.*, pp. xlvij, l, lvj, 25, 35, 39, 43, 45, 53, 76, 78-79, 80, 107, 114, 136, 178, 201, 206-7, 217, 229, 250-51, 266, 275, 278, 299, 301, 303).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. v-jx et xx-xxj. A propos de Pinel et Cabanis, Stendhal renvoyait le lecteur à une note où, après avoir cité les œuvres de ces deux médecins-idéologues, il lui recommandait de voir «Crichton: *An inquiry into the nature and origin of mental derangements*, Londres, 1798» (*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, I, 245, en note). Comme le fait remarquer M. Arbelet, Stendhal avait trouvé cette référence dans la *Manie*. Après avoir condamné les monographies écrites par les Allemands et les Anglais, Pinel ajoutait: «J'en excepte les recherches de Crichton (*An inquiry into the nature and origin of mental derangement*, etc. Lond. 1798), ouvrage profond et plein de résultats nouveaux d'observation, d'après les principes de la physiologie moderne, mais plus consacré aux connaissances préliminaires de l'aliénation mentale, que propre à approfondir l'histoire et le traitement de cette maladie» (*ibid.*, p. xxj). Il n'est pas inutile d'ajouter qu'en donnant une liste des auteurs allemands qui ont écrit sur la manie, Pinel n'oublie pas d'y insérer le nom de Zimmermann (cf. *ibid.*, p. xxj, en note).

<sup>39</sup> Pinel lui-même a attiré l'attention de ses lecteurs sur le parti que les artistes ont tiré de cette connaissance. Les passions débilantes et oppressives, dit-il, «comme le chagrin, la haine, la crainte, les regrets, les remords, la jalousie, l'envie, ... ont ... servi à enrichir les beaux-arts, et semblent respirer dans quelques chefs-d'œuvre de peintres et de sculpteurs du premier ordre». Et il revient encore à cette idée au sujet des passions gaies ou expansives: «Les peintres et les sculpteurs ont rendu avec autant de vérité que d'énergie, les caractères distinctifs de ces passions, marquées au dehors par une sorte d'épanouissement de la face et la contraction simultanée de certains muscles» (cf. *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale* [2<sup>e</sup> éd], pp. 27 et 34).

évidente, Stendhal donne ensuite une description détaillée des effets du chagrin et de la terreur. Pour montrer comment les passions peuvent exciter l'aliénation mentale, Pinel avait fait ressortir l'im-

portance d'étudier leurs effets sur l'économie animale et il avait décrit en particulier ceux du chagrin, de la crainte, de la terreur et de la terreur unie à l'étonnement.<sup>40</sup> Voici les textes confrontés:

Sentiment de langueur générale des forces musculaires, perte de l'appétit, petitesse du poulx, resserrement de la peau, pâleur de la face, froid des extrémités, diminution très-sensible dans la force vitale du cœur et des artères, d'où vient un sentiment fictif de plénitude, une oppression, des anxiétés, une respiration laborieuse et lente, ce qui entraîne les soupirs et les sanglots; l'irritabilité et la sensibilité sont quelquefois si épuisées qu'il en résulte un assoupissement plus ou moins profond, un état comateux ou même une catalepsie.

Le chagrin profond produit un sentiment de langueur générale, la chute des forces musculaire, la perte de l'appétit, la petitesse du poulx, le resserrement de la peau, la pâleur de la face, le froid des extrémités, une diminution très sensible dans la force du cœur et des artères, d'où vient un sentiment trompeur de plénitude, d'oppression, d'anxiété, une respiration laborieuse et lente qui entraîne les soupirs et les sanglots, et le regard presque farouche, qui complète la profonde altération des traits [*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, I, 246-47].

... traits du visage altérés, regard en dessous et farouche ... [*La Manie*, pp. xxvij-xxviii].

La terreur unie à l'étonnement, produite par les éclats bruyans du tonnerre, le spectacle de l'horizon en feu, la vue d'un précipice affreux, d'une cataracte avec fracas, d'une ville incendiée, offre aussi des nuances qui lui sont propres, œil fixe, bouche béante, pâleur de la peau, sensation de froid dans toute l'habitude du corps, relâchement des muscles de la face, souvent aussi interruption dans la chaîne ordinaire des idées et vertiges [*ibid.*, p. xxxj].

Lorsque le bon curé Primrose arrive, au milieu de la nuit, après un long voyage, devant sa petite maison, et qu'au moment où il étend le bras pour frapper il l'aperçoit tout en feu, et les flammes sortant de toutes les fenêtres, c'est la physiologie qui apprend au peintre, comme au poète, que la terreur marque la face de l'homme par une pâleur générale, l'œil fixe, la bouche béante, une sensation de froid dans tout le corps, un relâchement des muscles de la face, souvent une interruption dans la chaîne des idées. Elle fait plus, elle donne le pourquoi et la liaison de chacun de ces phénomènes [*ibid.*, pp. 245-46].

Il serait superflu de souligner les ressemblances entre l'analyse de Pinel et celle de Stendhal.<sup>41</sup>

En déclarant qu'une connaissance de la physiologie serait d'une grande utilité au peintre et au poète, Stendhal s'est arrêté à mi-chemin. Il aurait dû ajouter que le

romancier aussi pourrait en tirer parti, car l'auteur du *Rouge* semble bien s'être souvenu des remarques de Pinel quand il décrit la terreur qu'éprouve Julien Sorel en entrant, pour la première fois, au séminaire de Besançon. En voyant l'impassable portier, Julien lui adresse quelques mots «d'une voix que le battement du cœur rendait tremblante...» Son malaise augmente lorsque ce dévot à la physionomie terrifiante le conduit dans

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *La Manie*, pp. xxvij-xxxv.

<sup>41</sup> M. Paul Arbelet avait déjà fait remarquer que ces deux passages sont empruntés presque littéralement à Pinel (cf. *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, «Notes et éclaircissements», I, 372).

l'antichambre de M. Pirard, directeur du séminaire: «Là Julien fut laissé seul; il était atterré, son cœur battait violemment...» Après un quart d'heure d'attente, Julien est introduit chez M. Pirard. Le directeur, qui a l'air en colère, est occupé à classer des notes et pendant dix minutes il ne semble pas s'apercevoir de la présence du jeune homme: «L'émotion et la terreur de Julien étaient telles qu'il lui semblait être sur le point de tomber.» Ce sentiment s'accroît lorsque le prêtre lève la tête: «Julien ne s'en aperçut qu'au bout d'un moment, et même, après l'avoir vu, il restait encore immobile, comme frappé à mort par le regard terrible dont il était l'objet. Les yeux troublés de Julien distinguaient à peine une figure longue et toute couverte de taches rouges, excepté sur le front, qui laissait voir une pâleur mortelle. Entre ces joues rouges et ce front blanc, brillaient deux petits yeux noirs faits pour effrayer le plus brave. Le vaste contour de ce front était marqué par des cheveux épais, plats et d'un noir de jais.» Quand sur un ton d'impatience Julien reçoit l'ordre de s'approcher, il s'avance d'un pas mal assuré, prêt à tomber et plus pâle qu'il ne l'avait jamais été, et il s'arrête à trois pas de la table de l'abbé. Et lorsque M. Pirard lui dit de venir plus près, et le regarde d'un œil terrible en faisant observer qu'il a bien tardé, Julien ne peut supporter ce regard: il étend la main comme pour se soutenir et tombe tout de son long sur le plancher. L'abbé croit que Julien est épileptique. Mais celui-ci, qui n'a pas perdu l'usage des yeux et la force de se mouvoir, fait un grand effort et se ressaisit en dépit du violent mal de cœur qu'il éprouve.<sup>42</sup>

En décrivant les effets de la terreur chez Julien, Stendhal semble se rappeler non seulement le passage qu'il avait

inséré dans *l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie* mais aussi l'analyse suivante où Pinel décrit la terreur simple. Ses caractères propres sont «accélération des pulsations du cœur, contraction spasmodique des artères, surtout à la surface du corps, d'où viennent la pâleur et une distension subite des gros vaisseaux et du cœur; une interruption momentanée de la respiration comme par un spasme des muscles du larynx, des tremblements du corps et des jambes, une perte de mouvement dans les bras qui restent pendans; l'impression est quelquefois si forte qu'on tombe à terre privé du sentiment et de la parole; un bouleversement pareil peut-il ne point produire dans certaines circonstances les maux les plus graves, des spasmes violents, des convulsions, l'épilepsie, la catalepsie ou même la mort. ...»<sup>43</sup>

Ici, comme dans *l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, on voit bien que Stendhal a certainement su profiter de ses lectures.<sup>44</sup>

De même que Stendhal s'est adressé à Pinel quand il a voulu démontrer que le véritable artiste ne saurait créer des chefs-d'œuvre sans connaître la physiologie, l'auteur de *l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie* a eu recours à Cabanis quand il a soutenu que la connaissance des tempéraments est nécessaire à tous les artistes. Mais en décrivant le tempérament mélancolique, Stendhal a délaissé l'auteur des *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* pour suivre l'auteur de la *Manie*.<sup>45</sup> Pinel, comme Cabanis, s'est beaucoup occupé des tempéraments,<sup>46</sup> et

<sup>42</sup> *La Manie*, pp. xxix-xxx.

<sup>43</sup> Il ne serait pas difficile de relever d'autres passages où Stendhal semble non seulement se souvenir des remarques de Pinel mais où il emploie même les termes choisis par l'auteur de la *Manie*: par exemple, lors de l'inspection du dépôt de mendicité à Verrières, la figure ignoble du géôlier «était devenue hideuse par l'effet de la terreur» (cf. *Le Rouge*, pp. 10-11).

<sup>44</sup> M. Paul Arhelet a signalé cette source (cf. *l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie et les plagiais de Stendhal*, p. 270 et *l'Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, «Notes et éclaircissements», II, 450).

<sup>45</sup> *La Manie*, pp. 14-16, 137-39, 259.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Le Rouge et le noir*, éd. Henri Martineau (Paris: Garnier, 1939), pp. 168-72.

surtout du mélancolique. Il affirme, par exemple, que la nature des accès de folie varie suivant la constitution de l'aliéné,<sup>47</sup> et il fait voir, par conséquent, l'importance d'en tenir compte.<sup>48</sup> Quand Stendhal s'est mis à écrire la petite introduction qui constitue le début de son chapitre sur le

Une taciturnité sombre, une gravité dure et repoussante, les âpres inégalités d'un caractère plein d'aigreur et d'emportemens, la recherche de la solitude, un regard oblique, le timide embarras d'une âme artificieuse, trahissent dès la jeunesse la disposition mélancolique de Louis XI. Traits frappans de ressemblance entre ce prince et Tibère; ils ne se distinguent l'un et l'autre dans l'art de la guerre, que durant l'effervescence de l'âge, et le reste de leur vie se passe en préparatifs imposans, mais sans effets, en délais étudiés, en projets illusoire d'expéditions militaires, en négociations remplies d'astuce et de perfidie. Avant de régner ils s'exilent l'un et l'autre volontairement de la cour, et vont passer plusieurs années dans l'oubli et les langueurs d'une vie privée, l'un dans l'île de Rhodes, l'autre dans une solitude de la Belgique. Quelle dissimulation profonde, que d'indécision, que de réponses équivoques dans la conduite de Tibère à la mort d'Auguste. Louis XI n'a-t-il pas été, durant toute sa vie, le modèle de la politique la plus perfide et la plus raffinée; en proie à leurs noirs soupçons, à des présages les plus sinistres, à des terreurs sans cesse renaissantes vers le terme de la vie, ils vont cacher leur dégoûtante tyrannie, l'un dans le château de Plessis-les-Tours, l'autre dans l'île de Caprée ... [*La Manie*, p. 138, en note].

Dans la suite du chapitre, lorsque Stendhal décrit le caractère physique du mélancolique, il copie presque textuellement un passage des *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*; mais il ajoute l'observation qu'on trouve parmi les mélancoliques « beaucoup d'illustres fous » et « qu'une partie de la biographie des grands hommes doit être fournie par leur

tempérament mélancolique, il s'est souvenu que le livre de Pinel renfermait une description frappante du mélancolique. Il la trouva si utile et si intéressante qu'il l'inséra dans son manuscrit presque telle quelle, comme le montrera la juxtaposition des deux textes :

Une taciturnité sombre, une gravité dure et repoussante, les âpres inégalités d'un caractère plein d'aigreur, la recherche de la solitude, un regard oblique, le timide embarras d'une âme artificieuse, trahissent, dès la jeunesse, la disposition mélancolique de Louis XI. Tibère et Louis XI ne se distinguent à la guerre que durant l'effervescence de l'âge. Le reste de leur vie se passe en immenses préparatifs militaires qui n'ont jamais d'effet, en négociations remplies d'astuce et de perfidie.

Tous les deux, avant de régner, s'exilent volontairement de la cour, et vont passer plusieurs années dans l'oubli et les langueurs d'une vie privée, l'un dans l'île de Rhodes, l'autre dans une solitude de la Belgique.

Vers la fin, quand ils osent de nouveau être eux-mêmes, en proie à de noirs soupçons, aux présages les plus sinistres, à des terreurs sans cesse renaissantes, ils vont cacher l'affreuse image du despotisme puni par lui-même, le roi dans le château de Plessis-lez-Tours, l'empereur dans l'île de Caprée [*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, II, 58-59].

médecin.<sup>49</sup> En faisant cette observation, qui ne se trouve pas chez Cabanis, Stendhal s'inspire certainement des remarques de Pinel, comme nous le verrons par la suite. L'auteur de l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie* s'intéressait d'autant plus au tempérament mélancolique que c'était pour lui celui « de la plupart des grands hommes ». <sup>50</sup> Il n'est donc pas étonnant que

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>49</sup> *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, II, 60.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.



dans le chapitre lxxxix, intitulé «Un sculpteur», Stendhal, en faisant le portrait de l'artiste, se soit encore inspiré du livre de Pinel. Dans le cœur de l'artiste, dit-il, l'amour de la gloire s'enflamme «autant qu'il est donné au corps humain de supporter une passion». Mais l'artiste oublie bien vite qu'il avait commencé par désirer la gloire pour avoir les regards des plus belles femmes, la considération et les richesses. Il en arrive à prendre ces plaisirs grossiers en horreur: ils affaibliraient, avec ses facultés morales, ses moyens de sentir et de créer le sublime. Enfin il sacrifie à une renommée immortelle sa santé et sa vie: «On le voit fuir les hommes; sauvage, solitaire, s'accorder à peine la plus indispensable nourriture. Pour prix de tant de soins, si le ciel l'a fait naître sous un climat brûlant, il aura des extases, créera des chefs-d'œuvre, et mourra à moitié fou au milieu de sa carrière». <sup>51</sup> Stendhal trace encore le portrait de l'artiste dans la *Vie de Rossini*. Orgitano, fait-il dire à Rossini, est le seul talent qui eût pu égaler celui du compositeur du *Barbier de Séville*. La mort d'Orgitano dans la fleur de l'âge est un nouvel exemple des dangers du génie: «Il faut une organisation particulière, toute la folie et le feu des passions fortes, et cependant que ces passions ne vous dévorent pas dès l'entrée dans la vie». <sup>52</sup>

Ce que Stendhal fait ressortir chez l'artiste, c'est surtout l'effet des passions fortes sur le physique et le moral de l'homme de génie. Pinel, de même que Stendhal, a signalé les dangers du génie. Comme il a été dit précédemment, l'auteur de la *Manie* soutient la thèse que ce sont les passions les plus vives qui sont le plus souvent la cause de l'aliénation mentale. Il s'ensuit «que les hommes doués d'une imagination ardente et d'une sensibilité profonde, ceux qui peuvent

éprouver les passions les plus fortes et les plus énergiques, ont une disposition plus prochaine à la manie». <sup>53</sup> Pinel constate donc que certaines professions disposent plus que d'autres à la manie, surtout celles qui mettent en jeu une imagination vive et sans cesse en effervescence. Dans l'hospice des aliénés à Bicêtre, il avait trouvé inscrits plusieurs artistes, peintres, sculpteurs ou musiciens. <sup>54</sup> De plus, en étudiant la mélancolie, une des espèces d'aliénation, Pinel a observé que bien des hommes célèbres dans les beaux-arts sont des mélancoliques. <sup>55</sup> Le médecin doit donc «étudier les vies des hommes célèbres par l'ambition de la gloire, l'enthousiasme des beaux-arts, les austérités d'une vie monastique, le délire d'un amour malheureux». <sup>56</sup> Quant à la vie ascétique que mène l'artiste, il se peut que Stendhal, en la décrivant, se souvienne de l'histoire du jeune ambitieux, qui, par amour de la gloire, passe sa vie dans la retraite et suit un régime si sévère pour «donner plus d'essor à ses facultés morales», que sa santé en est altérée. Il finit par devenir fou et meurt encore très jeune, victime de ses «principes exagérés de conduite». <sup>57</sup>

Stendhal, comme Pinel, semble croire que l'homme de génie, à cause de ses passions fortes et de son tempérament, n'est pas très éloigné de l'aliéné ou du moins est plus sujet que l'homme médiocre et froid à perdre la raison. De plus, bien que le jeune homme dont parle Pinel soit avocat, il ressemble, par son caractère comme par ses actions, aux artistes dont parle Stendhal.

Quand, après avoir décrit le tempérament mélancolique, l'auteur de l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie* s'est mis à écrire le premier chapitre consacré aux tempéraments athlétique et nerveux, il a

<sup>51</sup> *La Manie*, p. 15. Cf. aussi *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-57. Cf. ci-dessus, p. 120.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>52</sup> *Vie de Rossini*, éd. Henry Prunières (Paris: Champion, 1922), II, 192.

encore eu recours à l'auteur de la *Manie*. A propos du tempérament nerveux, où l'esprit s'exerce aux dépens des muscles, Stendhal met le lecteur en garde contre le Dr Gall, qui avait soutenu que la force de l'esprit est toujours en raison de la masse du cerveau.<sup>58</sup> Et afin d'éviter tout malentendu à ce sujet, il ajoute en note: «On trouve ensemble les plus belles formes de la tête et le discernement le plus borné, ou même la folie la plus complète. Par malheur pour la peinture, l'on voit, au contraire, des têtes qui s'éloignent ridiculement des belles formes de l'Apollon, donner des idées où il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître du talent et même du génie.»<sup>59</sup> Et, à ce point, Stendhal renvoie à Pinel (p. 114) et à Crichton.<sup>60</sup> En effet, l'auteur de la *Manie* dit qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre les belles proportions de la tête et l'énergie des fonctions de l'entendement. Il dit même «qu'on trouve quelquefois les formes les plus belles de la tête jointes avec le discernement le plus borné ou même la manie la plus complète, et qu'on voit d'ailleurs des variétés singulières de conformation exister avec tous les attributs du talent et du génie.»<sup>61</sup>

Ce n'est pas seulement en écrivant ses œuvres de critique d'art que Stendhal a mis à contribution le livre de Pinel; l'auteur de la *Manie* semble avoir exercé une influence notable sur les œuvres d'imagination de Stendhal.<sup>62</sup> *Armance* est une

<sup>58</sup> *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, II, 64.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64, en note. Stendhal a choisi les «belles formes de l'Apollon» comme modèle parce que Pinel avait pris «pour terme de comparaison les belles proportions de la tête de l'Apollon» (cf. *La Manie*, p. 115).

<sup>60</sup> *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, II, 64, en note. Quant à Crichton, Stendhal le cite probablement parce que Pinel le nomme dans une note au bas de la page 112 de la *Manie*.

<sup>61</sup> *La Manie*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>62</sup> Nous avons d'ailleurs déjà montré plus haut l'effet de la terreur chez Julien Sorel. Il nous a paru que cette démonstration devait se placer immédiatement à la suite des remarques sur la terreur que Stendhal avait insérées dans l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*.

étude de psychologie morbide. Octave de Malivert, le protagoniste, n'est pas un aliéné, mais il faut reconnaître qu'il a des accès de manie. Stendhal, en décrivant ce côté du caractère de son héros, ne s'est-il pas inspiré de Pinel? C'est ce que nous allons tâcher de démontrer.

Remarquons d'abord que la conception stendhalienne de la manie, telle qu'elle se manifeste chez Octave, est absolument la même que celle de Pinel. L'auteur d'*Armance* l'explique ainsi: «Les médecins pensaient que cette monomanie était tout à fait morale, c'était leur mot, et devait provenir non point d'une cause physique, mais de l'influence de quelque idée singulière.»<sup>63</sup> Au lieu de dire «les médecins», Stendhal aurait pu nommer Pinel, car la thèse que soutient ce médecin-idéologue c'est précisément que la manie tient presque toujours à une cause morale et non pas à une lésion organique du cerveau. Ce que Stendhal veut laisser entendre c'est que la manie d'Octave est causée par l'idée de son impuissance.

L'auteur d'*Armance* ne s'est pas borné à donner cette définition de la folie d'Octave. Il en parle, au contraire, d'une manière très détaillée: «Peut-être quelque principe singulier, profondément empreint dans ce jeune cœur, et qui se trouvait en contradiction avec les événements de la vie réelle, tels qu'il les voyait se développer autour de lui, le portait à se peindre sous des images trop sombres, et sa vie à venir et ses rapports avec les hommes. Quelle que fût la cause de sa profonde mélancolie, Octave semblait misanthrope avant l'âge.»<sup>64</sup> Selon Pinel, c'est la violence des affections morales qui, le plus souvent, détermine l'aliénation mentale et il mentionne tout particulièrement les «chagrins profonds.»<sup>65</sup> De plus, le médecin-idéologue divise l'aliéna-

<sup>63</sup> *Armance*, éd. Raymond Lebègue (Paris: Champion, 1925), p. 38. C'est Stendhal qui souligne.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> *La Manie*, p. 110.

tion mentale en cinq espèces,<sup>66</sup> et il consacre plusieurs pages de son traité à l'étude de la mélancolie ou délire exclusif sur un objet. Ce qui caractérise cette forme d'aliénation est «l'extrême intensité d'une idée exclusive et propre à absorber toutes les facultés de l'entendement».<sup>67</sup> Octave est dominée par l'idée de son impuissance et c'est ce qui explique à la fois sa «profonde mélancolie» et ses accès de manie.

Ce qui prouve que la manie d'Octave provient d'une cause morale, c'est que ses accès avaient été plus rares quand il songeait à se faire prêtre.<sup>68</sup> La raison en est que l'état de prêtre lui aurait permis de cacher son impuissance. De plus, tout ce qui lui fait oublier son malheur tend à diminuer ses accès. C'est ainsi que son amitié pour Armance et même le malheur réel de perdre l'estime de sa cousine le distraient de sa noire tristesse.<sup>69</sup> Après leur raccommodement il n'était plus retombé dans ces moments de désespoir où il désirait la mort: «Il dit à sa mère: je commence à croire que je n'aurai plus de ces accès de fureur qui te faisaient craindre pour ma raison.»<sup>70</sup> Madame de Malivert tient d'autant plus à voir Armance épouser son fils qu'elle se rend compte que Mademoiselle de Zohiloff est la seule personne au monde qui puisse garantir Octave de ses accès de mélancolie, et elle dit même un petit mensonge pour hâter le mariage de ses enfants: «Conserver la raison de mon fils, n'est-ce pas mon premier devoir?»<sup>71</sup> Sans entrer dans d'autres détails à ce sujet, il paraît donc évident que la manie d'Octave est d'ordre moral et non pas physique.

Stendhal semble s'être encore inspiré de Pinel en précisant l'époque où Octave commence à avoir des accès: ce n'est qu'à l'âge de quinze ans qu'il éprouve à la

fois les passions les plus vives et une absence de goût pour tout ce qu'il y a de réel dans la vie.<sup>72</sup> Plus tard, lors de sa première année à l'école Polytechnique, ses accès avaient été bien plus rapprochés et ses camarades, «avec lesquels il avait des querelles fréquentes, le croyaient alors complètement fou».<sup>73</sup> Si les accès d'Octave commencent à quinze ans et deviennent plus fréquents à mesure qu'il vieillit, la raison en est qu'avant cet âge-là, il n'est pas à même de s'apercevoir de son impuissance. En insistant sur ce fait, Stendhal a encore suivi les observations du Dr Pinel qui, pour appuyer son affirmation que la manie provient d'une cause morale et que ce sont les passions trompées qui la provoquent, constate que, sur un total de soixante et onze aliénés reçus à Bicêtre durant l'an II de la République, il n'y en avait que trois qui fussent compris entre la quinzième et la vingtième année de l'âge, mais pas un seul avant ce premier terme, c'est-à-dire avant l'époque de la puberté.<sup>74</sup> Il paraît donc très probable que Stendhal emprunte à Pinel non seulement l'idée de dire que la manie d'Octave est produite par une cause morale mais encore celle de faire remonter ses accès à l'époque de son adolescence.

Stendhal s'est encore souvenu des leçons de Pinel en décrivant la physionomie d'Octave. Lorsque le héros d'*Armance* est sur le point d'avoir un accès, ses traits se couvrent de rougeur.<sup>75</sup> Pinel signale, à plusieurs reprises, ce signe précurseur: «Dans certains cas, la rougeur presque subite des yeux, le regard étincelant, le coloris des joues ... fait présager l'explosion prochaine de l'accès».<sup>76</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>72</sup> *La Manie*, p. 108. Cf. aussi *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale* (2<sup>e</sup> éd.), p. 415. Pinel y remarque que, parmi les hommes la manie «n'avait point paru se déclarer à une époque antérieure à la puberté. ...» (cf. aussi *ibid.*, pp. 455-56).

<sup>75</sup> *Armance*, p. 37.

<sup>76</sup> *La Manie*, p. 17. Cf. aussi *ibid.*, pp. xxxiv, 7, 171.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 137-76.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>72</sup> *Armance*, p. 38.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

Pendant l'accès, Stendhal signale chez son héros un accroissement d'énergie, au physique et au moral: «Il n'y avait pas un an qu'un jeune laquais effrayé de la figure d'Octave, ayant eu l'air de s'opposer à son passage, un soir qu'il sortait en courant du salon de sa mère, Octave, furieux, s'était écrié: 'Qui es-tu pour t'opposer à moi! si tu es fort, fais preuve de ta force.' Et en disant ces mots, il l'avait saisi à bras-le-corps et jeté par la fenêtre.»<sup>77</sup> Une autre fois, Octave se bat avec des soldats et reçoit trois coups de sabre.<sup>78</sup> Pinel avait déjà fait observer ce redoublement de forces chez les aliénés pendant leurs accès. Dans un des chapitres de la *Manie*, intitulé «Les accès de manie ont pour caractère l'énergie physique et morale», il y a même un passage qui rappelle fort la scène où Octave attaque le laquais: «L'excitation nerveuse qui en caractérise le plus grand nombre, ne se marque pas seulement au physique par un excès de force musculaire et une agitation continuelle de l'insensé, mais encore au moral, par un sentiment profond de supériorité de ses forces, et par une haute conviction que rien ne peut résister à sa volonté suprême; aussi est-il doué alors d'une audace intrépide, qui le porte à donner un libre essor à ses caprices extravagants, et dans les cas de répression, à livrer combat au concierge et aux gens de service.»<sup>79</sup> Abstraction faite de certains détails, les deux situations sont à peu près identiques.

Selon Octave lui-même, ces moments de malheur et de fureur ne sont pas de la folie, mais il a peur que ses accès ne le fassent passer pour fou dans le monde.<sup>80</sup> En attribuant ces paroles à Octave, Stendhal pense peut-être au rapprochement qu'a fait Pinel entre une colère violente et un accès momentané de manie: «La colère se termine rarement par une aliéna-

tion durable, quoiqu'elle altère d'une manière si sensible les fonctions de l'entendement, ou qu'elle en interrompe pour quelques momens le libre exercice; mais que de conformité entre un emportement de colère et un accès de manie, rougeur des yeux et du visage, air de menace et de fureur, expressions dures et offensantes. Doit-on s'étonner qu'on ait désigné l'un par l'autre, en sur-ajoutant l'idée de la durée?»<sup>81</sup> A la lumière des paroles de Pinel, on voit bien pourquoi Octave ne se croit pas fou, mais se rend compte que le monde ne fera pas de distinction entre les deux états.<sup>82</sup>

Personne ne serait assez téméraire pour donner à Julien Sorel l'épithète de fou. Cependant le caractère du jeune précepteur est très inégal et sa conduite, à maintes reprises, n'est pas celle d'un homme qui jouit de toutes ses facultés. Une petite phrase insérée dans la lettre de Mme de Rênal aux trente-six jurés servira d'ailleurs à répandre de la lumière sur cette question. Julien, selon cette femme généreuse, n'est pas un sujet ordinaire: «Durant près de dix-huit mois, nous l'avons tous connu pieux, sage, appliqué; mais, deux ou trois fois par an, il était saisi par des accès de mélancolie qui allaient jusqu'à l'égarement.»<sup>83</sup> Et elle ajoute que sa blessure a été le résultat

<sup>81</sup> *La Manie*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

<sup>82</sup> Avant de terminer cette étude des sources que Stendhal a utilisées en décrivant la manie d'Octave, signalons encore un dernier détail qu'il semble avoir emprunté à Pinel. L'auteur d'*Armance* dit que si Octave n'eût été qu'un pauvre étudiant en droit, sans parents ni protecteurs, on l'eût enfermé comme fou, tant il devient méchant et violent pendant ses accès. Mais grâce à sa position sociale, à sa beauté et à son intelligence, «l'idée de folie était éloignée» (*Armance*, pp. 35-36). Stendhal se souvient peut-être du malheureux étudiant en droit dont parle Pinel. Ce jeune homme finit par perdre la raison et ce n'est que sa mort prématurée qui l'empêche d'être envoyé à l'Hôtel-Dieu pour y subir le traitement de la manie (*La Manie*, pp. 54-57). Il est d'autant plus probable que Stendhal s'est inspiré de Pinel en l'occurrence qu'il connaissait depuis longtemps le cas de ce jeune étudiant en droit (cf. ci-dessus, p. 120).

<sup>83</sup> *Le Rouge*, p. 477.

<sup>77</sup> *Armance*, p. 36.

<sup>78</sup> *La Manie*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>80</sup> *Armance*, p. 38.

«d'un de ces moments de folie» que ses enfants eux-mêmes remarquaient chez leur précepteur.<sup>84</sup>

Avant d'examiner cette question d'une manière détaillée, il est bon de se rappeler que, de tous les personnages créés par Stendhal, Julien est certainement le plus sensible et le plus passionné. Pinel, comme nous l'avons vu, soutient que ce sont précisément les passions fortes qui provoquent l'aliénation mentale et que les personnes qui peuvent les éprouver ont une disposition plus prochaine à la manie. Notons, à ce propos, que Julien, comme Octave, a des accès de fureur d'une violence extraordinaire. Par exemple, lorsqu'il est accusé d'avoir négligé les enfants de M. de Rênal, Julien s'emporte contre le maire et quand, en outre, M. de Rênal lui adresse des paroles injurieuses, le jeune précepteur «est effectivement fou de colère».<sup>85</sup>

Mais ce sont surtout les accès de mélancolie dont souffre Julien qui permettent de jeter le doute sur la santé de son esprit. Le héros du *Rouge* a quelquefois l'air rêveur et taciturne de certains mélancoliques dont parle Pinel. Comme eux aussi, il est dissimulé, il a des soupçons ombrageux et il recherche la solitude.<sup>86</sup> Il a aussi certains traits qui, selon le médecin-idéologue, caractérisent les «mélancoliques d'un caractère opposé, c'est-à-dire doués d'un ardent enthousiasme pour les chefs-d'œuvre de l'esprit humain, pour les conceptions profondes, et pour tout ce qu'il y a de grand et de magnanime».<sup>87</sup> Enfin, Julien ressemble beaucoup à une troisième catégorie de mélancoliques qui, selon Pinel, «animent et charment la société par leurs affections vives et concentrées, et par tous les mouvemens d'une âme forte et passionnée; ils ne sont aussi que trop habiles à faire leur propre tourment et celui de tout ce qui les ap-

proche, par leurs ombrages et leurs soupçons chimériques».<sup>88</sup>

Mais ce ne sont pas seulement la colère et la misanthropie qui semblent mettre Julien dans un état qui ressemble assez à une aliénation passagère. Sa conduite, lors de sa liaison avec Mademoiselle de la Mole, est parfois celle d'un véritable maniaque. Dès la seconde nuit qui suit la déclaration de brouille éternelle faite par Mathilde, Julien est sur le point de devenir «fou» quand il se voit obligé de s'avouer qu'il aime la fille du marquis. Des combats affreux suivent cette découverte: tous ses sentiments sont bouleversés.<sup>89</sup> Plus tard, lorsqu'il s'entend appeler le premier venu, la colère le met hors de lui et il est sur le point de tuer sa maîtresse.<sup>90</sup> Après ce trait d'énergie, Julien est encore plus malheureux, car le mépris de Mathilde ne fait qu'accroître son amour. Il la trouve extraordinairement belle et il se reproche d'avoir méconnu le bonheur lorsque Mathilde s'est donnée à lui. Se trouvant plat et malheureux, il veut partir, mais le marquis le retient à Paris.<sup>91</sup> Hors d'état de parler, il s'enferme dans sa chambre où il peut s'exagérer en liberté toute l'atrocité de son sort. Il n'a même pas un ami à qui il puisse confier ses peines et il se dit: «Et cependant je suis fou, je le sais; je suis fou!».<sup>92</sup> Tandis que Mathilde, de son côté, songe au bonheur d'avoir été sur le point d'être tuée par son amant et pense à renouer, Julien est en proie au plus violent désespoir. Mais chez elle l'orgueil l'emporte encore sur l'amour, et à mesure que le mépris de Mathilde augmente, le malheur de Julien devient plus intense: son âme si ferme est bouleversée de fond en comble.<sup>93</sup> Toute pensée étrangère à sa maîtresse lui devient odieuse. Il est incapable d'écrire les lettres les plus simples,

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *La Manie*, p. 137.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 347-48.

<sup>90</sup> *Le Rouge*, p. 346.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47.

<sup>93</sup> *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 351-53.



et le marquis le traite de fou.<sup>94</sup> Enfin, en voyant Mathilde parler à des jeunes officiers, Julien en arrive à se dire qu'il n'a aucun mérite. Il se trouve bien plat, bien vulgaire, bien ennuyeux pour les autres et bien insupportable pour lui-même: «Il était mortellement dégoûté de toutes ses bonnes qualités, de toutes les choses qu'il avait aimées avec enthousiasme; et dans cet état d'imagination renversée il entreprenait de juger la vie avec son imagination. Cette erreur est d'un homme supérieur.»<sup>95</sup> Il pense à se tuer quand un éclair de génie le pousse à remonter chez Mathilde, en se servant encore de l'échelle.<sup>96</sup>

Pendant cette première période, Julien agit presque en insensé et sa conduite, quand Mathilde se brouille encore avec lui, n'est guère plus raisonnable. Il est vrai que les affaires de la note secrète viennent le distraire un moment, mais lorsqu'il est forcé de passer huit jours à Strasbourg, il a besoin de toute l'énergie de son caractère pour ne pas se laisser aller au désespoir.<sup>97</sup> Alors une modestie ridicule remplace chez lui sa présomption et son orgueil d'autrefois, et il se trouve avoir tous les torts: «C'est qu'il avait maintenant pour implacable ennemie cette imagination puissante, autrefois sans cesse employée à lui peindre dans l'avenir des succès brillants.»<sup>98</sup> Sur ces entrefaites, il rencontre le fat Korasoff qui s'efforce de lui faire comprendre que la seule manœuvre à suivre pour regagner l'affection de Mathilde, c'est de la rendre jalouse. Julien d'abord indécis, s'avoue à lui-même qu'il est «fou» et qu'il doit donc suivre les conseils de son ami.<sup>99</sup> C'est en se dominant lui-même qu'il réussit à jouer la froideur et à faire la cour à la maréchale

de Fervagues. Il n'aperçoit plus que vaguement les intérêts de son ambition: «L'affreux malheur qui en faisait un maniaque lui montrait tous les intérêts de la vie dans sa manière d'être avec mademoiselle de la Mole.»<sup>100</sup> Pendant quinze jours Julien joue son rôle: il agit et est moins malheureux. Toutefois, il tombe souvent dans le désespoir et pense à se tuer: «Ah! que je serais plus sage, se disait-il, de démarquer mon linge, et d'aller dans quelque forêt solitaire, à vingt lieues de Paris, finir cette exécrable vie! Inconnu dans le pays, ma mort serait cachée pendant quinze jours et qui songerait à moi après quinze jours!»<sup>101</sup> Enfin, grâce à la jalousie qu'il a su éveiller chez Mathilde et à sa prétendue froideur, Julien réussit à regagner l'amour de son orgueilleuse maîtresse.<sup>102</sup>

Il entre certainement de la folie dans la conduite de Julien. Il est vrai que ce n'est pas un état permanent, mais l'excès de son amour le met dans un état de mélancolie qui est bien proche de l'aliénation. Remarquons d'abord chez lui ce penchant à cette modestie ridicule qui fait contraste avec sa manière d'être habituelle. Pinel a décrit cette forme de mélancolie en disant qu'elle est marquée par «l'abattement le plus pusillanime, une consternation profonde, ou même le désespoir.»<sup>103</sup> De plus, l'idée de suicide qui hante Julien pendant son délire amoureux est un trait que Stendhal a pu puiser dans son propre cœur mais que Pinel signale aussi à plusieurs reprises. Selon l'auteur de la *Manie*, la mélancolie conduit souvent au suicide, et il reconnaît que l'amour malheureux est une des causes les plus fréquentes de la mélancolie.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 401.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413-14.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 415-31.

<sup>103</sup> *La Manie*, p. 143.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 57 et 146-48. En précisant l'endroit que Julien choisit pour se suicider, c'est-à-dire

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358. C'est Stendhal qui souligne.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 358-59.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 391-95.

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Enfin, l'amour qu'éprouve Julien pour Mathilde ressemble assez à ces passions factices que Pinel décrit ainsi: «La vie sociale et une imagination ardente étendent presque sans bornes la sphère des besoins relatifs à l'existence, ... elles y font entrer l'estime des hommes, les honneurs, les dignités, les richesses, la célébrité, et ce sont ces désirs factices qui, toujours irrités et si rarement satisfaits, donnent lieu souvent au renversement de la raison, d'après les relevés exacts de registres des hospices; c'est ce même prestige qui orne de dons célestes un objet aimé, fait voir en lui le degré le plus éminent de beauté, de grâces, d'élévation de caractère, donne lieu aux désirs les plus véhéments et fait éprouver par les contrariétés toutes les fureurs et le désespoir de l'amour. Une sensibilité morale portée à l'excès ne rend pas moins insupportables les peines les plus légères comme les moindres privations du plaisir, et de-là viennent l'extrême vivacité des désirs et les passions les plus violentes si on leur oppose un obstacle.»<sup>105</sup>

Il se peut bien qu'en analysant la mélancolie de Julien et son amour malheureux pour la fille d'un marquis, Stendhal ait utilisé plusieurs sources. Il n'en demeure pas moins que Pinel semble avoir attiré l'attention de l'auteur du *Rouge* sur les égarements produits par les passions trompées et surtout par les passions factices.

En signalant les emprunts faits par Stendhal à Pinel et en indiquant la manière dont le critique d'art et le romancier les a mis en œuvre, notre but n'a pas

été d'exagérer l'importance de cette influence. Mais tout en étant moindre que celle des autres idéologues, elle a néanmoins servi à élargir chez Stendhal la connaissance du cœur humain. En insistant sur l'effet des passions sur l'économie animale, Pinel a renforcé chez l'auteur de *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* l'idée que toute esthétique doit être basée sur une connaissance complète de la nature humaine. Et lorsque Stendhal a découvert que c'était surtout dans le roman qu'il pouvait utiliser ses études psychologiques, il s'est souvenu que les passions ne se manifestent pas seulement par certains signes extérieurs, mais qu'elles peuvent aussi provoquer des accès de manie. L'auteur d'*Armance* et du *Rouge* n'a certainement pas entrepris une étude sérieuse de l'aliénation mentale dans ces deux romans, mais il a su tirer parti de certaines idées de Pinel dans le domaine de la psychologie morbide en dessinant le caractère d'Octave de Malivert et de Julien Sorel, et on comprend beaucoup mieux la conduite souvent extraordinaire de ces deux personnages après avoir lu le livre de Pinel.

D'ailleurs l'auteur de la *Manie* avait appliqué la méthode analytique à l'étude de l'aliénation mentale. Stendhal avait appris à connaître la valeur de cette méthode en méditant les œuvres de Lancelin et de Destutt de Tracy, mais Pinel, à la fois médecin et idéologue, enseigna à Stendhal que l'analyse pouvait être appliquée à l'étude d'un côté de la nature humaine que jusque-là le disciple de Tracy avait complètement ignoré. Ainsi donc, en élargissant les connaissances de Stendhal dans ce domaine et à l'aide de cette méthode, Pinel a vraiment contribué à la formation de ce maître incomparable du roman psychologique qu'est l'auteur du *Rouge*.

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une «forêt solitaire, à vingt lieues de Paris», on peut se demander si Stendhal ne songe pas encore une fois au jeune étudiant en droit qui, pendant un de ses accès de noire et profonde mélancolie, s'éloigne de chez lui et qu'on trouve mort dans un bois voisin.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxvj.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*An introduction to linguistic science.* By EDGAR H. STURTEVANT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Pp. 173.

Not long ago Professor Sturtevant wrote a book which made tough going even for scholars. It was about the laryngeals. This time he writes for those at the other end of the line, and his book can be recommended to anyone who has been wondering what is meant by "linguistics." Technical language is avoided as far as possible, and the doctrine is expressed simply. The scope of the book is wide. Phonetics and phonemics, the origin of language, the descriptive and comparative methods, the sound laws, semantics, linguistic borrowing, and the phenomena of assimilation, dissimilation, and analogy are briefly and clearly presented. But the author does not offer his book to readers as the short road to knowledge. It is planned so as to give the layman an elementary understanding of the subject and to lead the student on to further reading.

Sturtevant has often observed with pleasure that linguists enjoy discussion, and he gives them plenty of opportunity here, since he covers a wide field and has necessarily confined himself to brief statements even where the facts are complicated or obscure. On page 2 he supplies his definition of language: "Language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which members of a social group coöperate and interact." In a recent book on the origin of language, Révész cites seventeen different definitions, only to substitute his own; and we are faced by the difficulty of arriving at a definition that is generally acceptable. How clearly differentiated must the symbols be in order to qualify as language? Cries and calls uttered under the stimulus of love, fear, or anger would not so qualify. Sturtevant says well that arbitrary meaning and syntactic structure are essential (p. 50).

In discussing the relation between language and thought, the author observes that an ape has been known to put one box on top of another in order to reach bananas hanging out of

reach, so that this operation does not require the power of speech; and he adds: "When it comes to such a problem as putting a plank over a stream, it is altogether likely that the use of language is essential" (p. 5). I can see no important difference between these two situations, and I would suggest that the animal whom anthropologists call "Man"—that is to say, "the maker of tools"—may have made weapons for hunting and fighting and tools for drawing and cooking during thousands of years before he arrived at a system of communication worthy to be called "language."

In agreement with some other linguists, Sturtevant condemns the practice of branding certain speech forms as incorrect, and cites *it's me* and *ain't* as acceptable (p. 55). Here two questions are involved. First, it is a fact that *it's me* was "correct" in the sixteenth century and that now most of us feel aware of a preference for *it's I*. Professor Nichol Smith recently suggested to me in conversation that this preference may be due partly or wholly to the influence of the biblical *It is I*. Second, it would appear that the author and those who agree with him deny a common fact of experience, which has probably always been a powerful influence in the development of language, namely, the tendency to observe a standard. All of us make an effort to see that our children speak correctly, and most of us go to some trouble ourselves. There are probably times when the influence of polite society is stronger in a particular community than it is at other times—the age of Louis XIV in France, that of Queen Victoria in England; but it is still very strong in France and desperately strong in England. Sturtevant would give small comfort to an Englishman with a cockney accent and uncertain habits of grammar in the presence of the fact that his fortune depends upon his ability to "correct" them. But these are commonplaces of linguistic science familiar to the author. Hyperurbanism is a well-known factor of phonology, and reference is made

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here (p. 28) to the efforts of people in ancient Rome, including Cicero himself, to conform to fashion. Later (p. 89) it is truly said that *length for length* is "substandard" and (p. 131) that certain other forms have been banished from the "standard language." The author must have in mind some distinction between "substandard" and "incorrect," but it is not clear to me. He cannot mean to deny the tendency toward "correctness," since, indeed, he complains of it. I can only suppose that he regrets it and has for the moment ceased to write as a mere linguist.

Some scholars would object to the statement that Chinese is not monosyllabic (p. 55), but they might add that there is reason to believe that many Chinese forms which now comprise only one syllable formerly had more than one. Some points of detail in the treatment of phonetics seem to me open to objection. It is said that the [u] of French *poule* shows more rounding than any English vowel (p. 13). But French [u] is not strongly rounded. The [p] in *spin* as pronounced in the United States is probably a voiceless [p̥] rather than a nasaspirate [p] (p. 11).

The author's discussions of linguistic structure (pp. 55-60), the sound laws (pp. 65-73), and analogy (pp. 96-109) seem to me particularly good, and there is a useful table of contaminated forms on page 111. His treatment of semantic change and linguistic borrowing might be expanded with advantage in a second edition.

Sturtevant has done well by linguistics in taking time out to write this introduction, which the simple and the learned alike will read with pleasure.

MYLES DILLON

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*Shakespeare's "histories," mirrors of Elizabethan policy.* By LILY B. CAMPBELL. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1947. Pp. xi+346.

Miss Campbell's volume is the latest among recent major studies of Shakespeare's history plays, following those of E. M. W. Tillyard and John Palmer. To those familiar with Miss

Campbell's other literary studies the merits of this one will be a familiar story. The documentation is thorough, the illustrations adequate and well chosen, the writing clear, the tone moderate, and, within the premises established, the argument unforced. The omission of the *Henry VI* plays may, at first glance, seem unfortunate, but the conclusions drawn in the present study are not of the sort that might be invalidated by this limitation, and the very special problems raised by the early plays will be discussed by Miss Campbell in a future volume.

It is, in fact, one of the merits of this work that it does not try to deal exhaustively with the history plays but is written with a clearly defined purpose and in conformity with explicitly stated principles. It rests on the conviction that "the poet must be reckoned a man among men, a man who can be understood only against the background of his own time" (p. 6), and the first section is therefore devoted to a reconstruction of the background appropriate to an understanding of the history plays. It establishes the Renaissance conceptions of history, and their reflection in English historiography, with attention to the role of the Tudors and their political policies in shaping the writing of history in England. A chapter on the controversy over the relative merits of history and poetry establishes the setting for the vogue for versified and dramatized history. The history play, Miss Campbell concludes, "is still drama, but it cannot be understood by studying alone its dramatic technique. Instead, it must be studied as a form of art which selected and used its subject matter for the purposes universally accepted as appropriate" (p. 116). This purpose was the use of history as a "mirror." On this basis Miss Campbell studies the individual plays in relation to the political events of Shakespeare's time, to the problems which these raised, and to the divine justice by which, according to Renaissance historians and moralists, political affairs were governed.

To establish the category of plays which might properly be included in such a study, Miss Campbell addresses herself in the second chapter to the problem of definition. The histories are distinguished from the tragedies on

the basis of the distinction between the private and the political virtues: "Tragedy is concerned with the doings of men which in philosophy are discussed under *ethics*; history with the doings of men which in philosophy are discussed under *politics*" (p. 17). "Tragedy deals with an ethical world; history with a political world. In tragedy God avenges private sins; in history the King of kings avenges public sins, those of king and subject alike" (p. 307). This definition is clearly an improvement over those which Miss Campbell rejects. It is not, however, a formal definition: we cannot discriminate in terms of it between the plays and *The mirror for magistrates*, or between the plays and some of Shakespeare's sources, for that matter. In the light of this definition and the method employed in the analysis of the individual plays, the contention that a poet is "a man who can be understood only against the background of his own time" becomes crucial, for the word "only" must be reckoned with as something more than rhetorical emphasis and raises the question of what kind of understanding of the plays is made possible by a study of this character.

A considerable amount of discussion is devoted to tracing parallels between the events and characters in the plays and in the political activity of the times. These are often very interesting in themselves, but, except for suggesting the timeliness of the political comment in the plays, it is doubtful whether they can be used as a starting-point for the analysis of Shakespeare's dramatizations of history. The parallelisms between *Richard III* and the libelous writings on Leicester are striking, but a significant interpretation of the play can certainly be made without reference to them; and the fact that the career of Richard II was often used to point criticism at Queen Elizabeth actually raises more questions than it resolves. Miss Campbell exercises the utmost caution in calling attention to these parallels, and her conclusions are so moderate as to suggest that she does not attach fundamental importance to them. She says of *Richard III*, "whether Shakespeare used him with any specific intent there is no evidence to decide" (p. 332), and of

*Richard II*, "I do not know the answer to the riddle, though it is quite clear that Elizabeth's enemies compared her to Richard II, and that Essex's enemies compared him to Henry IV" (pp. 211-12). She is somewhat skeptical of the identification of Essex with Henry V and prefers to place the emphasis on *Henry V* as "a great war play," "discussing the philosophy of war, picturing the accepted procedures of war, building comic scenes about the violations of the articles of war and the current Elizabethan dispute over the preferred 'school of war'" (p. 305). It is apparent, therefore, that, in spite of the considerable attention given to such matters, it is the plays regarded not as reflections of specific persons and events that must form the basis of our understanding but as mirrors of general questions of contemporary policy and of the divine laws which Tudor times believed operated in the political sphere.

In the establishment of the conditions which govern the world in which any one of his plays moves, Shakespeare is remarkably clear and exact. The concept of royal sovereignty which underlies the action of *Richard II*, for instance, is made explicit in Richard's speeches as well as in those of Gaunt and York, and it is even reflected in the conduct of Bolingbroke, who never questions Richard's notion of the source of royal authority and who insists on abdication, though he can readily gain the throne by force, simply because he is interested in the legality of his own future position as king. The pattern of divine revenge for political crimes, discussed at great length by Miss Campbell, can be discerned repeatedly in the action of the plays and is expressed several times—in Carlisle's speech in *Richard II*, in the curses of the women in *Richard III*, and in the prayer of Henry V before Agincourt, to mention but a few instances. The theory of the good state is stated in parable in the gardener's speech in *Richard II* and explicitly by Exeter and the Archbishop in *Henry V*. Nevertheless, it is very valuable to have these matters pointed out and so thoroughly supported by contemporary texts and to have the contemporary view of history and poetical history so thoroughly documented that there can be no rea-



son for misinterpretation on these matters. In the case of such a play as *King John*, which is somewhat diffuse, or the two parts of *Henry IV*, which are less explicit on some points than the other history plays, this information is very useful. And one of the most striking features of the study is the number of instances of lines which are given a more accurate reading or new overtones as a result of Miss Campbell's researches. But I believe Miss Campbell has something more in mind than this sort of historical recovery, and to certain problems raised by this fact I wish to call attention.

Frequently, questions primarily dramatic and artistic are brought within the discipline of the historical method employed. For instance, commenting on the error of those who seek to make Faulconbridge the hero of *King John*, Miss Campbell writes:

The truth of the matter is that the history play was not often privileged to reflect a hero in its mirror, for that was not the mission of the history play. That Shakespeare was able to depict King John in his conflict with the church as speaking his eloquent defiance of the pope and the foreign priest without making him the great Christian warrior reflects the greatness of Shakespeare and of his understanding of the genre in which he was writing [p. 167].

This statement leaves the impression that Shakespeare's success in this play arises from its conformity to the ideal of history and of dramatic history as a "mirror"; but this need not mean dramatic success and hence is not the proper reply to those who have tried, ineptly, to force some kind of unity into their interpretation of this diffuse play by insisting on Faulconbridge as the hero. One of Miss Campbell's most successful discussions is that of the comic episodes in *Henry V*, which she illuminates by means of contemporary writings on the art of war and military discipline. She concludes: "This weaving of the comic episodes into the texture of the play by making them all contribute to the theme of war makes *Henry V* a much more unified play than *Henry IV*" (p. 305). The unity here referred to is a unity of theme or subject matter and consequently does not resolve the

problem of critics who regard the play as a loose and grandiose historical pageant and have discerned traces of Shakespeare's difficulties with the form in the choruses. The discussion of *Richard II* affords further illustrations of the problem. The first scene is interpreted in the light of Renaissance views of the king as dispenser of justice: "It is a proper scene to introduce a play of kingship, for, to the sixteenth century, above all else a king was an administrator of justice, acting as God's deputy" (p. 194). From this point of view, Richard's statement, "We were not born to sue but to command," addressed to Mowbray and Bolingbroke, is merely another illustration of the role of the king as justice, and the irony of the remark is neglected. Richard had commanded the angry disputants to throw down their gages, and they had refused, and it is only to save the situation that he then "commands" them to do precisely what they insist on doing in defiance of the king. Failure to consider the conduct of the king in this scene in relation to his character and the circumstances leads to a failure to see the dramatic significance of the second scene, which, according to Miss Campbell, "does not further the action, and . . . can have been introduced only to restate the Tudor theory of kingship" (p. 197). This scene, however, brilliantly illuminates the curious conduct of the king and makes it intelligible, for it informs us that Richard was responsible for the murder of Gloucester, the issue between the disputants. Moreover, Gaunt's reasons for refusing to take action against the Lord's anointed are not merely a gratuitous lecture on sovereignty, since they further explain the procedure of Bolingbroke against Mowbray and are crucial in establishing the grounds for the conduct of all the major characters in the play. Such handling of the details of the play results from too close an association of the play with the historians and the idea of the play as a mirror. Miss Campbell opens the discussion of *Richard II* with the statement that, like the historian Hayward, Shakespeare "wrote of Richard II's follies in so far as they were 'either causes or furtherances' of the fortunes of Henry IV—but no further" (p.

168). In the conclusion to the section she writes: "In his play of *Richard II* Shakespeare thus offered the follies of Richard only as a background for the presentation of the problem that was so often discussed during Elizabeth's reign, the problem of the deposition of a king" (p. 211). This is too limited a scheme for the consideration of this play as play. It forces it into the category of history and political discussion so completely that many of its most interesting features become obscured, and the use of such phrases as "no further" and "only" aids in their eclipse.

It seems, in fact, to be the case that the most profitable way of investigating these plays as mirrors is to approach them, first and foremost, not as mirrors but as plays, for there is always the danger in the reliance on the historical method as the basis for the interpretation of imaginative works that the critic will become a victim of his background. A better reading dramatically of *Richard II* would have placed certain issues, relevant to Miss Campbell's primary search, more exactly into focus. It is curious that in the quotations from York's reproach to Richard the lines omitted are the very ones in which York warns the king that in seizing Bolingbroke's inheritance he has violated the law of primogeniture by which alone the king comes by succession to be the Lord's vicerent. And to the further elucidation of this legal question more than the passing reference given to it (p. 208) should have been allowed to Richard's accusation of himself:

I find myself a traitor with the rest;  
For I have given here my soul's consent  
To undeck the pompous body of a king;  
Made glory base, and sovereignty a slave,  
Proud majesty a subject, state a peasant.

One or two other illustrations must suffice. Miss Campbell states, without accepting it as finally proved, the case for regarding Essex as Hotspur, relying principally on similarities in temperament. Two differences, very important dramatically, should also have been noticed to complete the case for or against this identity: Hotspur hated "base and rotten policy" (which Essex apparently did not), and he was, ironically, the victim of masters in the art of

such policy (which was hardly the case with Essex). One final instance: *Richard III* is interpreted as a kind of hybrid which has some of the elements of tragedy, and, in consequence, Miss Campbell is inclined to minimize the function of the play as a study of Machiavellian policy (p. 333). The dominant sins of Richard are "perjury and murder, sins against the moral order," and the prime passion is ambition, in which case the play, according to the definitions established, partakes more of the nature of tragedy than of dramatized history. The play further develops the "Elizabethan philosophy of revenge" (p. 317), and Hastings and Clarence are viewed as "the victims of Richard's private vengeance," and their murder is thus representative of "private vengeance executed under the cloak of public vengeance by one who serves as God's vicerent" (p. 318). Richard's murders, however, are not vengeance as that word is normally understood: they are calculated political murders, determined by the need for accomplishing calculated political ends.

To avoid misunderstanding it is necessary to insist again that within its proper limits this study of the histories is excellent and illuminating. The qualifications are directed toward problems of method and critical principle. They are based on two related premises, which, for the sake of clarity, may be explicitly stated: (1) The danger of historical scholarship as applied to imaginative works is that the questions raised are often determined not by the nature of the work considered as a whole but by the existence of parallels between the information and thought contained in a given body of contemporary treatises dealing with similar or analogous subjects and the content of the imaginative work literally considered. (2) Historical studies cannot answer the ultimately important questions about the meaning of imaginative works. Their chief use is in preparing the ground for a comprehensive understanding, and this understanding demands the application not of historical but of artistic principles appropriate to the kind of work in question.

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*English literature in the earlier seventeenth century, 1600-1660.* By DOUGLAS BUSH. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945. Pp. vi+621.

Professor Bush's volume is the first to appear of a projected new series, under the auspices of the Clarendon Press, designed to comprehend, upon completion, the entire field of English literature. It is a learned and solid performance. It is characterized by a lively awareness of the present-day relevance of the literature of the early seventeenth century and an appreciation of such of its qualities as would be most likely to appeal to a modern reader. It is urbanely written and livened occasionally with wit and felicity of phrase.<sup>1</sup> The reviewer who has no desire to be captious or to quibble about miscellaneous details can most profitably concern himself with the way in which this study has taken advantage of the opportunities offered in a new survey and with the methods and principles which underlie this latest historical synthesis of an important period in English literature.

The series of which this volume is a part has, in general, two advantages over the older standard work which is comparable in scope and aim—*The Cambridge history of English literature*. The most obvious of these is that a generation of scholars and critics has worked over the entire field since the earlier survey ap-

<sup>1</sup> One feature of the style provides occasion for an aside on the problems and difficulties which confront the writer of such a history. There is an occasional allusiveness about the writing (for example, reference to Shakespeare's "fatally 'merry meeting' with Drayton and Jonson" in the discussion of Drayton (p. 76)), which is attractive to the reader who already knows enough to recognize the biographical detail or casual paraphrase and quotation involved. The quality of allusiveness results sometimes from compression in the interest of brevity (for example, the reference to the "rationalistic adaptation" by certain Puritan divines "of Ramist logic to Calvinist theology" (p. 340)), a device not inappropriate for the reader who needs no further exposition of the concepts or developments introduced. Yet the reader to whom such allusiveness is no handicap would enjoy a greater degree of sophistication in some of the discussions than Professor Bush apparently believes desirable in such a work, and the reader who is unable to follow the allusion or requires more of the information that lies behind it—in short, the kind of reader who will most profit from this volume—will undoubtedly be puzzled. The problem is unquestionably a trying one, and it is not to be wondered at that the book shows occasional minor traces of the author's difficulties in satisfying the demands of both categories of readers.

peared. The second advantage is that, since each volume is to be the work of one author, it will be governed by a uniform point of view. In the Cambridge series, although some individual chapters were masterly and classic accounts in their way, the different sections were at times uneven, and the individual volumes lacked an informing and uniform perspective.

Professor Bush has made full use of the first of these advantages. Of his command of the scholarship and criticism in his province the selective bibliographies, comprising over one-fourth of the entire volume, are excellent testimony. They should prove one of the most useful features of the book to the serious student. The book also reveals everywhere an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of the literature itself. The complete command over the materials of the work is demonstrated on every page, so that in spite of the physical limitations within which the book had to be written, it gives the impression of great detail under control. At times the desire for completeness takes the form of a listing of minor writers and obscure titles which might better have been introduced in a bibliographical note, since not even Professor Bush's wit and neat turns of phrase can save these portions from marring the rhetorical effect of his main discussions or make them an essential part of the exposition. This is a minor trifle, however, and as a symptom of the comprehensiveness of the whole account it may be graciously accepted.

The chapters of the book are organized, as the preface points out, by "types of writing and modes of thought" rather than "grouped around men," in the interest of "a more philosophic unity."<sup>2</sup> Within the limits of this scheme, however, the individual writer is not lost, and, in fact, the chapters prove to be de-

<sup>2</sup> It would have been useful if Professor Bush had found it possible to include a separate chapter on style. He devotes a considerable amount of discussion to this matter, but it is scattered; there are some comments in the chapter on the essay, some under individual writers—for instance, Burton in the chapter on science, Browne in the chapter on religious thought—something briefly in the chapter on popular literature and translations, etc. In view of the importance of this literary problem during this period and the considerable amount of attention paid to it in recent scholarship, a separate and more unified treatment would have been very opportune.

veloped largely around discussions of individual figures. The art of the writing, moreover, is best revealed in these discussions, for in many instances they amount to finished essays on particular authors, at times so neatly turned that they can be almost isolated from their place in the movement of the argument in a given chapter and read as separate units, complete in themselves. This is true even in the chapters dealing with aspects of the thought of the period; the various facets of a given problem are revealed chiefly through the discussion of individuals who, in general, illustrate a particular phase of the problem. The treatment of Burton is an extreme illustration. He is included under "Science and scientific thought," but it is not Burton as scientist or even as the type of curious figure that seventeenth-century science could embrace that is the concern of this discussion but rather the stylist, the genial philosophic spirit, the compassionate student of humanity. Where, as is the case with Milton, the chapter becomes necessarily the discussion of one individual, Professor Bush's forte appears at its best. This essay, perhaps the best in the book, is more than a succinct survey of Milton's writings. It is a coherent interpretation of the man and his works, and one of the most effective brief discussions of Milton in recent years.

This procedure affords a vivid awareness of the personalities who contributed to this literature. But it does not make for sharp discrimination of issues or precise analysis of ideas. If it be objected that the cross-currents and individual complexities of the thought of this age do not lend themselves to artificial and arbitrary distinctions—a point which the first chapter makes abundantly clear in suggesting correctives to some of the dogmatic commonplaces current about the period—it is, nevertheless, true that any organization does violence to actuality, and, if it is the thought of an age which we wish to illuminate, sacrifice might better be made in the interest of clarity, even at the expense of losing some shading, particularly for the kind of student who is most likely to look for guidance in such a work. Such clarity is demanded, in fact, by the fre-

quent appearance of terms ("Renaissance humanist," for instance) which have accumulated a wide variety of implications, or the allusion to features of the thought (the Puritan and middle-class aspects of science, for instance) which often take for granted considerable familiarity with seventeenth-century texts and recent scholarship. The difficulty is crucial with the term "Christian humanism," which, with its analogues, is probably the most ubiquitous single term in the book. Though the various contexts in which it appears add up to a sort of definition and though the final chapter on Milton enlarges upon the concept, it never receives enough explicit attention to acquire real philosophic clarity.

This central term is, nevertheless, a clue to the interpretive theme which runs through the book. On the surface the bias of the work manifests itself merely as a matter of taste—a preference for certain writers or currents of thought or qualities of style and expression over others. Most strikingly it is reflected in the case of Donne, for whom Professor Bush does not share the enthusiasm of many modern critics. At the opposite end of the scale is Milton, who might be regarded as the hero of the book, who is defended against the type of current derogatory criticism of which that of Eliot is the most widely known. The discussion of Donne is, in a way, rhetorically a preparation for the essay on Milton; it is admittedly a "minority report," an antidote to the extravagant praise of the last few decades. It thus suffers inevitably from the bringing in of current polemics directly into literary history, since it is not strictly a balanced account. It is the limitations and extravagances of Donne that stand out, and the attention paid to the *Anniversaries* places these in prominent relief. But the best of the religious poems—the earlier poetry is arbitrarily excluded because of the chronological limits of the book—are not given the kind of treatment which would make clear what is so compelling about Donne at his finest, what the structural formula of his poetry is, and what his secret that makes such a work as "Good Friday, 1613" a masterly poem of its kind, distinct in its informing unity from

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the weakest performances of Donne and from the scramble after ingenuity of his worst imitators. The account is not wholly lacking in appreciation of Donne's striking qualities, yet to say of the vogue of Donne in our century that "he became the idol and shibboleth of intellectual poets, critics, and undergraduates"—though something of a truth in its literal sense—reveals a casual condescension not in keeping with the best qualities of this book.

It is not merely, however, a matter of preferring Milton to Donne. The basis of this distinction permeates the entire work. Thus Chapman is treated with considerable deference, in spite of his "metaphysical" qualities, apparently because of his dignified gravity, his fervor, his Christian humanism. Drayton, certainly not the idol and shibboleth of the intellectual undergraduate, while not praised as a poet beyond his deserts, is sympathetically treated for his "simple, buoyant patriotic fervor," worthy of the praise of Browne and Wither, who "saluted the happy pen which in unheroic times upheld Elizabethan virtue." Bacon, among the philosophers, while admired for his acuteness and comprehensiveness of mind, is made to bear the grave responsibility of having divorced religion from science and exalted the pursuit of science and the advancement of technology without the compensating support of a related ethics and faith. And at times, too, the reader becomes aware that through an occasional aside, a turn of phrase, Professor Bush is using his history as a rod to check the erring of our days.

In the conclusion he directly reveals himself, though the reader who has been watching the signs will not discover in these closing remarks a new revelation. Speaking of the twentieth-century revival of interest in the earlier seventeenth century, Professor Bush remarks: "The years 1912-39 may also be said to have witnessed the final bankruptcy of Baconian optimism, the scientific pride and self-sufficiency which had been the dominant creed of the modern world. The positive antidote to that creed, however, is to be found, not in the 'Armistice' literature of disillusionment and defeat, but in the religious and philosophic lit-

erature of Bacon's own century." Of the dominant literature of these "Armistice" years he writes: "... the modern 'defeatist' literature was largely the product of sophisticated coteries and was not, as it was often taken to be, the mirror and full measure of the modern or the national temper." The implication seems to be that our century has not taken advantage of the best of the seventeenth century and that those who have written in a manner resembling the coterie literature of the intellectuals of the earlier age or who derived their principal inspiration from them produced now, as then, a literature which failed to report the best in the spirit of the times and was belied by the heroism of subsequent events: "A Jacobean reader of the contemporary literature of discontent might have felt that Englishmen had sunk far below their fathers and grandfathers, and might have denied the existence of the resolute beliefs and high passions and energies which were to bring about the civil war. And historians of the future will not be able, in the literature of the 1920's and 1930's, to discern much of the greatness of popular courage which in 1940 was displayed in trials and perils infinitely greater than those of 'the year eighty-eight' to which seventeenth-century men looked back with pride and thankfulness."

This is written in the spirit of the recent revulsion of feeling against the "irresponsibles" of the twenties and thirties. Professor Bush's adoption of this view is happily free of the *peccavi* of Mr. MacLeish and of the angry denunciations and fierce hosannas of Mr. De Voto. And in any case the validity of this view of our recent literature is not for the moment a relevant matter. It is in point, however, to raise the question of whether the bias which it represents and which permeates much of the work is the best and most fruitful for the writing of a history of the literature of the earlier seventeenth century. Admittedly, the analogies between this era and our own are so striking as to make such evaluations very tempting, and there are occasions when it is useful and illuminating to make them. But the incorporation of ethical principles into the writing of literary history introduces serious complications in any



attempt to organize the dynamic developments, the intricate cross-currents of a field so complex and varied as the one here surveyed. These difficulties are magnified in the present case because it is only recently that the feelings and antagonisms about literature which Professor Bush's account reflects have become acute, and our intense emotional involvement in the events which brought them to a focus renders more difficult than ever the arduous effort required to achieve the long view from which the historian can most comprehensively illuminate the past. It is very fortunate, therefore, that Professor Bush's urbanity and his apparent determination not to be unjust to those writers who lie outside the circle of his literary and philosophical admirations cancel out to a large extent the disabilities which his perspective imposes. And there is a further compensation in the fact that his special bias has provided the incentive for a spirited revaluation of Milton.

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*The censoring of Diderot's "Encyclopédie" and the re-established text.* By DOUGLAS H. GORDON and NORMAN L. TORREY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xi+124.

In the *Correspondance littéraire* (January 1, 1771), Grimm first revealed in general terms the curious story of Diderot's relations with André François Le Breton, the chief publisher of the *Encyclopédie*, and Diderot's dismay and anger when he learned that Le Breton had surreptitiously cut and altered many of his more imprudent "philosophical" observations. "The entire extent of the injury done by this unexampled, murderous, and infamous depredation will never be known," wrote Grimm, "since the perpetrators of the crime burned the manuscript as soon as it was printed and left the evil without remedy." What Grimm did not know, however, was that the publisher did not destroy the evidence. Instead, he had the

page-proof material mounted to the size of the *Encyclopédie* and bound as an extra volume in his own set. This set, now in the possession of Mr. Gordon, with its 318 pages of corrected proof, allows us at last to see Diderot's original text and the extent of the "infamous depredation" committed by his publisher. The present monograph neatly and succinctly interprets this material for the general reader, first by retelling the story of "the great publishing venture" and then by discussing in some detail the basis of the censorship undertaken by Le Breton and the nature of the censored material. In these chapters the texts are translated into English. For the specialist there is a long section, "The re-established text," with documents and notes in French, in which the censored material is restored, enabling the reader to see (1) what Diderot originally wrote, (2) the passages cut out, and (3) the substitutions or additions made by the censor. The volume is well illustrated with a number of plates, reproducing the title-page of the rare 1745 prospectus of the *Encyclopédie* and some of the page proofs themselves, with the censor's ink drawn across the offending portions of text. To the student of Diderot and the campaign of the eighteenth-century *philosophes* the volume will be of the highest interest, and it incidentally sheds light on French eighteenth-century publishing practices.

In the passages which he singled out for deletion or change and in the skill with which he altered the more dangerous of Diderot's statements, Le Breton appears as a shrewd and adroit censor. That the publisher's operations were indeed highhanded receives ample justification from the present study, but the charge—made by Diderot and Grimm—that he had done a clumsy and "Gothic" job in excision and alteration of texts apparently cannot stand. The authors' conclusions are that Le Breton, far from being abysmally ignorant, was, upon occasion, "diabolically clever." In the censoring of such an article as "Morale," they point out, "the omission or substitution of a word or phrase sometimes completely changed the author's intended meaning" (p. 63). A study of the changes made in such

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Le Gras, *Diderot et l'Encyclopédie* (Amiens, 1928), chap. viii.

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articles as "Menace," "Paradis," and "Tolérance" bears out this view. The articles most heavily censored were "Pyrrhonienne philosophie" in Volume XIII and "Sarrasins ou Arabes" in Volume XIV; the latter, particularly, the authors describe as "a test case for studying Diderot's methods of composition" (p. 54), and their illuminating analysis of the changes made in it can be followed easily by means of the accompanying photograph of the page proof in question. One of the most interesting new points which emerge from the present volume is the concrete evidence afforded of Diderot's admiration of Bayle.

Diderot's account of Pierre Bayle's life and works was followed by a eulogy which led to inspired philosophical reflections [in the article "Pyrrhonienne ou sceptique philosophie"]. Diderot here showed himself at his best. Le Breton removed the finest of his paragraphs, to the extent of more than a full folio page. Modern critics have remarked that Diderot and Voltaire were both stingy in their praise of Bayle. But Voltaire saw the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* burned at Colmar in 1754. In 1756 he had to stop a Paris edition of his *Poème sur la loi naturelle*, because he had too openly praised Bayle. The Encyclopedists were playing with fire when they dared to speak well of Bayle, and they realized it fully. The newly discovered paragraphs by Diderot reveal the generous admiration for his great predecessor [pp. 48-49].

Le Breton's actions, deplorable and high-handed as they seemed at the time to both Diderot and Grimm, did not, of course, destroy the effectiveness of the *Encyclopédie* as a weapon of propaganda and actually did much to save the contributors from further persecution. Enough remained to make the work a far-reaching instrument in the development of new and revolutionary ideas.<sup>2</sup> The absorbing story revealed in the present volume heightens one's admiration for Diderot and brings the reader behind the scenes of the great publishing venture of the eighteenth century, ena-

bling him to see more clearly the moves and countermoves employed in the production of the *Encyclopédie*.<sup>3</sup>

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*Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin, and the Catholic revival.* By DENIS GWYNN. London: Hollis & Carter, 1946. Pp. xxxviii+156.

The ordinary reader of Newman's *Apologia* or of Church's *The Oxford movement* thinks of the Catholic Revival as having originated in the Tractarian agitation of 1833-45. It is the purpose of Gwynn's highly factual little book not only to reveal to us the work of Lord Shrewsbury and the Pugins (father and son) but also to throw light, from a new angle, upon Catholics and converts in the middle years of Victoria's reign. The result is startling. We are no longer "blinded by the brilliant light that surrounds such names as Newman, Ward, Manning, [or] Wiseman, fresh from Rome" (p. xxiii), but realize that the church which the Oxford men joined was already a vigorous and independent body. Newman himself seems to have been under a mistaken impression when he summed up the situation of Roman Catholics, in his sermon on the "Second spring," by alluding to them as "ghosts flitting to and fro" in the twilight or mist of obscurity and feebleness. It is because of our scanty knowledge of the actual state of affairs among Catholics in England in the 1840's and 1850's that we pause awkwardly when we read, in the usual accounts of Newman's conversion, of "the Melchisedech-like figure of Father Dominic Barberi receiving Newman's submission" (p. xxv). Why was it that, just at the moment when Newman was about to submit to Rome, a Passionist Father was so promptly available? Gwynn's volume explains the matter very ably.

He shows, for example, that the Catholic

<sup>2</sup> The "Father Hoop" mentioned on p. 55 and elsewhere was the Scotch surgeon, Dr. John Hope (see R. L. G. Ritchie, "Le 'Père Hoop' de Diderot: essai d'identification," in *Miscellany of studies in Romance languages & literatures presented to Leon E. Kastner* [Cambridge, 1932], pp. 409-20).

<sup>3</sup> On the European aspects of the project one may now read the fine pages devoted to the *Encyclopédie* in Paul Hazard, *La Pensée européenne au XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle de Montesquieu à Lessing* (Paris, 1946), I, 272-92.

Revival had made great headway *before* the Oxford Movement had brought any converts to Rome. He points out also that the Irish famine of 1845-47 had driven so many emigrants to England that not Newman but sheer pressure of population brought about the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. In the background stands the figure of "the good Earl John," the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, with his palatial home at Alton Towers, with his enormous wealth, and with his desire to restore dignity and beauty to the Catholic churches and ritual in England. With him stands the young Pugin, a brilliant architect who had become a Catholic from glorying in medieval English churches and cathedrals. And with him also stands Ambrose Phillipps (later known as Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle), dreaming, like Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury, of reviving the medieval Catholic church in modern England. It was Ambrose Phillipps who not only founded the first monastery in England since the Reformation but also brought to England the Italian missionary, Father Dominic Barberi, who was to figure so dramatically at Littlemore on October 8, 1845. It was men like Phillipps and Lord Shrewsbury (though the latter was absent from England a great deal of the time) who helped bridge the gulf between the "Old Catholics" and the Oxford converts and their followers. It was they, as Gwynn shows, who lifted English Catholicism from the eighteenth-century plight, which Newman really did describe in his famous sermon, to the active and vital state in which the nineteenth-century converts found it.

What makes the present volume of interest to readers not primarily concerned with Vic-

torian Catholicism is such a passage as is quoted from Pugin's *Principles of pointed or Christian architecture*—a withering condemnation of Victorian false-Gothic, worthy of Ruskin himself (p. 5) or the story of Pugin, erecting church after church in the northern Midlands and laboring so exhaustingly as eventually to drive himself insane. While Pugin figures in the "craze for Gothic" which raged in the middle of the century, Ambrose Phillipps (of Whig stock) becomes an ardent Tory and finds his way into Disraeli's *Coningsby*, as "Eustace Lyle." In the meantime, Father Dominic has been to Littlemore. Thus the story of the wealthy and pious Lord Shrewsbury, of the fanatical Pugin, and of the zealous Ambrose Phillipps contrives ultimately to illuminate many nooks and crannies in Victorian taste and action. One feels as if one were behind the scenes of a great play. Thus one values the outspokenness of Lord Shrewsbury when he heard that Newman was being sued for criminal libel by Dr. Achilli because of the Birmingham lectures; Lord Shrewsbury's spontaneous and unrehearsed comment was: "What a mess poor Newman is in! How could he be so *extremely imprudent*!" (p. 144).

Written with great care and accuracy, Gwynn's book is unrelieved by wit or intended humor. As a study of a great Catholic earl and his architect and friend, it does, in fact, what the dust-jacket maintains: it "makes a valuable contribution to the social history of the nineteenth century."

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